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# PLUTARCH's LIVES

Of the Illuſtrious

*Greeks* and *Romans*,

With their COMPARISONS.

# PLUTARCH'S
# LIVES

OF the most

Great and Renowned

With their COMPARISONS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

# PLUTARCH's LIVES

Of the Illuſtrious

*Greeks* and *Romans*,

With their COMPARISONS.

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Done from the *Epitomy* of *Darius Tibertus*, a Noble *Italian*, and Corrected by the Original. By the Author of *A Grammar of the* Engliſh Tongue *with* Notes.

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To which is Added,

A Chronological TABLE, and an Exact MAP of the Ancient Empires of *Greece* and *Rome*.

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*LONDON*:

Printed for THO. BAKER, at the *Bible* in *Ludgate-ſtreet*. 1713.

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Of the Illuſtrious

Greek and Roman,

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# THE PREFACE.

I *Stop the Reader here, not out of a meer Form and Cuſtom, but of Neceſſity, to obviate the Prejudices that are too eaſily taken up againſt all Abridgments, as if it were impoſſible to expreſs the true Thoughts, and keep up to the Deſign of the* Original *Books, when they loſe half their Bulk in an* Abſtract. Authors *particularly condemn Abridgments, becauſe they know not how ſoon it may be their own turn to have their large* Folio's *thrown into* Octavo, *and the Spirit of their tedious Works drawn off into a ſizeable Volume.*

*But (tho' I ſhall not judge of other Mens Taſte by my own) I muſt confeſs I have as great an Averſion to* Folio's, *(half a Dozen excepted,) as the Authors of them, or their Learned Admirers, can have to Abridgments. Time is too valuable to be thrown away upon the Impertinencies of a Bulky Book; which a Man of good Senſe would*

would to more be obliged to read entirely over, than he could be attentive to all the insipid Chat of a tedious Talker.

Since our Life is but short, and that we may improve ourselves by many useful kinds of Knowledge, we are obliged to those who bring it into a narrow Compass; who point out a short Way to valuable Truths, and make us Wise at an easie Rate. This, I think, is effectually done by a Just Abridgment; which ought not to be looked on as an Affront to the Author that is abridged, but as an Advantage to his Readers, and indeed to his Book too; because an Abstract of it gives them a Taste of his Excellencies; it shows Him in an Advantageous Light; and may invite them to read the Original itself, which otherwise they would never have looked into.

Besides the Learned Part of Mankind, (who love to deal in large Volumes; as if they fancied their Author's Knowledge were proportionable to the Size of their Books;) some of the Busie Part of the World too apply themselves to Study, and make a Considerable Progress in all Sorts of Learning, by a Frugal Management of their Time, and a Good Choice of Books. Now to such Persons

*ſons, who have a great Love for Truth, and but little Leiſure to purſue and diſentangle it, an exact Abridgment muſt be very ſerviceable.*

*An Ingenious Author (who left ſeveral* Octavo's *behind him) tells us, That if only Angels were to Write, we ſhould have but few* Folio's. *The Reflection is Juſt and Delicate. And the more Judicious Part of Mankind are ſo ſenſible of it, that they have Abridged the Works of the moſt Eminent Authors.* Mr. Locke (*in one of his Letters to Mr.* Molyneux) *approved the very ſhort Abſtract that was made of his* Eſſay on Humane Underſtanding. *And I believe there are ſome who eſteem him more for Approving that* Abſtract, *than for Compoſing the* Eſſay *itſelf. The Lord Biſhop of* Sarum *Abridged his Accurate* Hiſtory of the Reformation. *And it ſeems there was an Abridgment even of my Lord* Clarendon's *Celebrated* Hiſtory *ready to be Publiſhed, tho' (for Reaſons beſt known to the Printer) it was ſtopt at the Preſs.*

*This is enough to vindicate the following Abridgment of* Plutarch's *Lives made by* Darius Tibertus, *a Learned* Italian. *It*

*met*

*met with a very Kind Reception in Foreign Countreys, and is now carefully Tranſlated for the Benefit of the* Engliſh *Reader. The* Epitomy *is both Clear and Conciſe, and yet not Defective; for it contains the Chief Actions of all* Plutarch's *Heroes, in the ſame Method, and the Poſition of the Titles, that are obſerved in the Original. And I may venture to ſay there is nothing* Material *in the* Five Engliſh *Volumes which is not in this* One, *except the Occaſional Remarks that* Plutarch *makes, and his frequent Digreſſions about Prodigies, Omens, and ſuch trifling Fooleries, as are more apt to diſguſt than to entertain a Judicious Reader.*

*But if any one would be amuſed with the* Dreams *and Superſtitious Whims of the Ancients he may find enough to pleaſe him in the other Volumes. As for this Book, it truly anſwers its Title, and contains only Plutarch's* Lives of the Illuſtrious *Greeks* and *Romans*, with their Compariſons.

BRITISH
6 AU 85
MUSEUM


TYPUS REGIONUM
per quas grassatum est bellum
civile inter
POMPEIUM et CÆSAREM.
GALLIA
PROVINCIA
ROMANORUM
HISPANIA
TARRACONENSIS
MARE
AFRICA
Numidia
Mauritaniæ duæ
Atlas maior
Atlas minor
Baleares Insulæ 2.
Pityusa Insula
Carthago nova
Hercules columnæ
Sinus Syrtis
Thapsus
Aphrodisium
Tripolitana regio
Pallas palus
Pelorum prom.
Lilybæum prom.
Mercurii prom.
Hadrumetum
Thambes mons
Mampsarius Mons
Tingitani
Masæsyli
Mauritania
Liby phœnices
Psylla
Helvetii
Istria
Venetia
Liguria
Latium
Campania
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicilia
Tyrrhenum Mare
Adriaticum Mare
Cantabricus Oceanus
Burdigala
Aquitani
Rhodanus fl.
Rubricatus fl.
Tiberis fl.
Padus fl.
Alpes
Carpathus
Germania
Pannonia
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50


40
45
50
55
60
Callipedæ
Iazyces
Mæotæ
Tanais fl.
Sarmatiæ Asiati
Mæotis Palus
Taurica Chersonesus
Bosphorus Cimmerius
Bastarnæ
Carpatis Mons
Agathyrsi
Arpii
Iazyges
Pannonia
Dacia
Getæ
Peuce Ins.
Pontus Euxinus
Ister, qui et Danubius
Mysia Superior
Mysia Inferior
Thracia
Asia
Phrygia Maior
Lycaonia
Pisidia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Rhodus
Cyprus
Creta
Carpathos
Mediterraneum
Alexandria
Hierosolym
Apollonia
Cyrene
Pentapolis
Catabathmus
Libya exterior
Ammon
Ægyptus
Marmarica
Cyrenaica
Lotophagi
Erchidæ
Syrtis maior
Leptis magna
Ionium
Cephalonia
Corcyra
Pachynum prom.
Syracusæ
Adriaticum Mare
Dalmatia
Illyris
Pannonia
Thessalia
Achaia
Peloponnesus
Corinthus
Argos
Lesbos
Troas
Aeolis
Caria
Doris
Lycia
Paphlagonia
Cappadocia
Galatia
Bithynia
Caycones
Halys fl.
Euphrates fl.
Nilus fl.
Arabicus
Sidon
Tyrus
Alexandria
Ptolemais
Iordan fl.
Cyprus
Rhodus
Creticum
Mare
Carpathos
Cyrenaica
Marmarica
Libya exterior
Ammon
Ægyptus
Nilus fl.
Arabicus
Sidon
Tyrus
Ptolemais
Iordan fl.
Hierosolym
Alexandria
Cyprus
Rhodus
Carpathos
Creta

# THE LIFE OF *PLUTARCH.*

*Plutarch* was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*: It was anciently call'd *Arne*, on the Weſt of *Parnaſſus*, in a foggy, fenny, and unwholſom Soil, and therefore remov'd by *Chæron*, the Son of *Apollo*, and rebuilt to the Eaſt, which gave it Health, and (from its Founder) the Name of *Chæronea*. Or, perhaps it might take its Denomination from its pleaſant Situation, as the Word *Chæron* ſufficiently imports.

And tho' the Inhabitants of *Bœotia* were generally reputed fat-witted, ſtupid, and unthinking, fit indeed for the fighting part of Soldiers, but never for great Commanders, or Men of Deſign and Conduct, yet it gave Birth to *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, who gave evident Proofs of their Judgment and Addreſs,

as much as of their Bravery and Intrepidity; and produc'd three Men of Wit and fine Parts, equal to moſt of the *Athenians*, that is, *Pindar*, *Plutarch*, and *Sixtus Chæronenſis*, the Tutor of *Marcus Aurelius* Emperor of *Rome*, and Nephew to our *Plutarch*.

The YEAR of his Birth is uncertain, tho' in all probability it was ſomething lower than the middle of the Reign of *Claudius*. His Family was ancient and eminent in this little City or Commonwealth, having for many Deſcents born the moſt conſiderable Offices of it, as *Archon* or chief Magiſtrate, not unlike our Lord Mayor. His Great-Grandfather's Name was *Nicarchus*, who bore that Office in the Diviſion of the Empire betwixt *Anthony* and *Cæſar*.

His Father's Name is not known, tho' his Temper is, an Account of which is given us by *Plutarch* himſelf, thus: ——— *Being very young, I was joyn'd in Commiſſion with another, in an Embaſſy to the* Proconſul, *but my Collegue falling ſick, ſtaid by the way, and I went forward and negociated the whole Affair by my ſelf: But at my Return, going to give an Account of my Tranſactions to the State, my Father roſe up and forbid me to ſpeak in the Singular Number of my ſelf; as, that* I *did or ſaid ſo or ſo, but* We; *always aſſociating my Companion with me in the Expreſſion, tho' he was abſent in the Negotiation.*

Among

Among many other Children, were his Brothers, *Timon* and *Lamprias*, inſtructed together in the *Liberal Sciences*, and all parts of Philoſophy, with whom he liv'd in great Love and Friendſhip, as well as in great Veneration to their Grandfather and Father. His Love for his Brother *Timon* was particular, eſteeming his Friendſhip the greateſt good Fortune he had met with: And he introduces *Lamprias*, in his MORALS, as of a ſweet and pleaſing Converſation, inclin'd to *Mirth* and *Railery*; that is, a well-humour'd Man, or good Companion.

*Ammonius*, an *Ægyptian*, having taught Philoſophy with Reputation in *Alexandria*, was now ſettl'd at *Athens* with as much Eſteem; and he was Maſter to our *Plutarch*, who was a Penſioner in his Houſe. Under ſuch a Tutor he advanc'd in Knowledge to admiration, and that without wandring into foreign Countries, and drudging at any ſtranger Tongue. For the *Grecians* looking on all other Nations as barbarous, never thought their Languages worth the learning, but taught all their Students the Arts and Sciences in their Mother-Tongue. Nay, tho' the *Roman* Tongue was ſpread with its Empire, yet *Plutarch* never read or learnt it till his later years, and then underſtood the Words by the Things, not the Things by the Words. For he himſelf aſſures us, that while he was at *Rome* he was ſo much involv'd in the adminiſtration of Public Affairs, and the inſtructing thoſe who deſir'd to learn Philoſophy of him, that he had no Leiſure to

apply himſelf to the Study of the *Latin* Tongue, at leaſt ſo far as to be able to write in it, not being indeed over exact in *his own*.

As it was his good Fortune to be moulded firſt by the moſt excellent Maſters in their kind, ſo 'twas his own Virtue to ſuck in with great Deſire and Application their wiſe Inſtructions; and Prudence, in managing his Health ſo by Temperance and Exerciſe, as to preſerve it to an extream Old-age, being vigorous and lively to the laſt, maintaining that Conſtitution which he had receiv'd from Nature capable of Fatigue and Labour, in thoſe peculiar and happy Enjoyments, which were as beneficial to Mankind as delightful to Himſelf.

With theſe Principles his Soul being fill'd, and the inſatiable Thirſt of Knowledg, which always poſſeſs'd him, they made him reflect, That he could never make theſe Approaches to Univerſal Knowledg (which he perpetually ſigh'd after) unleſs he extended his Communication with the Learned; and this made him reſolve to travel.

He therefore took a Voyage to *Ægypt*, famous then as before for Learning; and in his Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſyris* he ſhews himſelf not meanly vers'd in the ancient Philoſophy and Philology of the Wiſe-men or Prieſts of that Country. In his Return to *Greece* viſiting all the Academies and Places or Schools of Learning, he gather'd from 'em many of theſe Ob-

Obſervations, with which he has enrich'd his Works.

He collected all valuable Books extant, and the *Sayings* and *Table-talk* of Wiſe-men from Tradition, the Records and public Inſtruments in the Cities he had ſeen, which he ſcatter'd about his Works. For this end he made a Journey to *Sparta*, to diſcover their ancient Conſtitution of Government, their Legiſlators, Kings, and *Ephori*, digeſting all their Deeds and Sayings ſo nicely, as not to omit thoſe of their very Women and Common Soldiers; their Cuſtoms, Decrees, Ceremonies, manner of Living public and private, in Peace and War. The ſame he did with other States and Commonwealths, as his *Lives* and *Greek and Roman Queſtions* witneſs. He made likewiſe a curious Collection of Medals, Statues, Inſcriptions, Paintings, Proverbial Sayings, Epitaphs, Epigrams, Apothegms, and other Ornaments of Hiſtory, that he might ſecure all the valuable things he could meet with. His Memory was perpetually imploy'd in retaining the Diſcourſes of thoſe Men of all Profeſſions, with whom he had made it his Buſineſs continually to converſe, and his Judgment to diſtinguiſh what ought to be preſerv'd, and what rejected.

From this rich Cabinet of curious Collections, or Common-place, (which, he ſays, he had long ſince made) he drew thoſe admirable things which he has beſtow'd on Poſterity, and which make us angry at the Neglect of Copyers, or the Injury of Time, which has

depriv'd us of all thoſe that never came to our Hands.

We may therefore allow him to have been ignorant of no part of Valuable Learning, and muſt grant, that in all his Writings, whether Hiſtorical, Phyſical, Moral, or Mathematical, he diſcovers the Harmony of Order, and Charms of Eaſineſs. His Reaſons and Arguments are ſo ſtrong and irrefragable, that it is plain he was always a perfect Maſter of the Matter he treated of, and that *Inſtruction* was the End and Aim of his Diſcourſe.

'Tis plain from what he has writ, that he earneſtly deſir'd to fix in the Minds of his Readers thoſe Maxims and Precepts he laid down, and his Zeal for the imprinting Moraſity not only in private Families, but even in Princes, ſo far as to make that the Standard and Meaſure of their Government.

Tho' he had ſtudied all ſorts of Philoſophy, yet he moſt inclin'd to *Plato*; in Memory of whom he annually celebrated his Birth-day, as he did alſo that of *Socrates*: But he contain'd himſelf within the bounds of the later Academy, propounding the ſeveral Arguments, but leaving the deciſion to the Reader; yet his Moderation extended not ſo far, as not to ſuffer him to oppoſe the Extreams of *Epicurus* and *Zeno*, both theſe Philoſophers, with their Followers, being always too dogmatical and certain in what they advanc'd; which was a Method ſo contrary to thoſe of

the

the Academy, as *Plutarch* was, that he could by no means ſuffer it in ſilence. The *Pyrrhonians*, who made all things equally uncertain except this Maxim, *That all things were ſo*, could not be more pleaſing to him, or leſs oppos'd.

His chief Application was to *Moral Philoſophy*, as more beneficial to Human Society, and more demonſtrative in it ſelf, than *Phyſicks*, which were no more indeed than a pleaſing Amuſement. He made the *Mathematicks* his Recreation, not his Buſineſs, taking ſome Problem of them for the Subject of his *Table-Talk*.

He was pleaſant in Converſation; and tho' he deſpis'd not Riches, yet he us'd thoſe he poſſeſs'd to the Benefit of his Friends, and his own private Enjoyments.

His Religion was *Pagan*, and he himſelf in his later days a Prieſt of *Apollo*; and yet from his Writings it is plain, that he believ'd but one God; as is evident from his Book of the *Ceſſation of Oracles*, and his Comment on the Word *E I* which was inſcrib'd on the Gate of the Temple of *Delphos*. In the firſt againſt the *Stoicks* he argues, that there is no need of many Deities to govern many Worlds, ſince one excellent, rational Being is ſufficient to govern and rule theſe Worlds; whereas many Deities would imply Decrees contradictory to one another. In the other he ſays, the word ſignifies, *Thou art One*, for there is not a Plurality of Gods, but one God. From the ſame we find, that

he had heard of the Gospel, many of the sacred Mysteries of which he had inserted into his Writings, if we may believe *Theodoret*.

Among his other Opinions in Religious Affairs, which may be gather'd from his Works, we shall only take notice of that which relates to *Spirits*. As he owns the Unity of the Godhead, so he held a sort of intermediate Beings betwixt the Divine and Human Nature, whom he calls *Dæmons* or *Genij*, as if without these there would be too vast a Flaw in Nature betwixt Immortal and Mortal. But this Opinion, as it was *Plato*'s before our Author's, is very well confuted by Monsr. *Fontinelle*, in his *History of Oracles*. *Plutarch* suppos'd these *Dæmons* or *Genij* to have been once Men of Pious and Virtuous Life, and for that exalted into the Aerial Kingdom, and set to preside over Oracles, *&c.* but if they maintain'd not their Purity, they were thrown down again into this Earth, to inhabit some other Body. He held, that these *Spirits* were generally beneficent to Mankind, tho' sometimes the contrary, in proportion as they gather Purity or Dross, and decline again to a Mortal State. To these likewise he gives Passions, and Inclinations.

It is thought that he marry'd, in the Flower of his Age, a Lady whose Name was *Timoxena*, as was that of his Daughter. And *Plutarch*, in his Letter of Consolation to his Wife for the loss of her Daughter, shews, that her Name was the same with the other. His Wife he celebrates for Knowledge, Conjugal Virtues, Hatred of the Vanities of her Sex, and Superstition:

ſtition; her Gravity of Behaviour, and her Conſtancy in ſupporting the loſs of her Children. Nor do we find that *Plutarch* had any other Wife.

The Children of *Plutarch* were ſix in number, five Sons, and *Timoxena* a Daughter, who dy'd at two years old. His Son *Autobulus*, and another whoſe Name is not mention'd, dy'd before this Daughter, as did his Youngeſt Son *Charon* in his Infancy. But his Sons, *Plutarch* and *Lamprias* (deriving his Name from that of his Grand-father) ſurviv'd him; the later ſeems to have inherited his Fathers Philoſophy. *Sextus Chæronenſis*, who inſtructed the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* in the *Greek* Tongue, was his Nephew, and the famous Rhetorician *Longinus* is thought to be of his Family; and *Apuleius* aſſures us, in the beginning of his *Golden Aſs*, that by the Mothers ſide he was deriv'd from *Plutarch* and *Sextus*.

He was a tender Husband, and an indulgent Father, taking a peculiar Care of the Education of his Children. In his Temper to all others he was Courteous, and Humane; conſtant without Anger, or Deſire of Revenge; and to his very Slaves gentle as well as careful of their Support in their Old-age, when paſt their Labour. He lov'd his Friends, and was always grateful to his Benefactors. Nor was his Love to his Country leſs conſpicuous, from his Writings: For he himſelf lets us know, that he wrote the Life of *Lucullus*, becauſe he had done his native City of *Chæronea* ſome Favours many years before he was born; which yet he thought

thought himſelf oblig'd to repay in that manner. For the ſame Reaſon he inviegh'd and wrote againſt *Herodotus* the *Hiſtorian*, for laying to the *Bœotians* Voracity, Groſsneſs of Wit, and thoſe National Defects which common and receiv'd Opinion had given them before and after.

In ſhort, allowing for his Superſtitious regard to Dreams in his Conduct, the reſt of his Manners were unblameable.

Tho' the Time and Occaſion of his going to *Rome*, his Stay there, and his Return to his own Country, be uncertain, yet it is probable that he went firſt thither in the Reign of the two *Veſpaſians*. He undertook the Journey on the Invitations of *Soſſius Senecio*, to whom he dedicated moſt of his Lives.

When he was firſt made known to *Trajan*, is uncertain, tho' it is not improbable, that when that Emperor was a private Man, he might be a Hearer or Scholar of *Plutarch*. It is certain that this wiſe Emperor made him Conſul, and entruſted to him by Edict the management of the Affairs of *Illyria*. And it is likewiſe thought that *Trajan* took his Advice in all things, to which he ow'd the Juſtice and Regularity of his Reign which was all of a Tenour to the End, with the unanimous Applauſe of the *Roman* Empire.

As it is probable that he marry'd before he left his own Country, ſo it is no leſs ſo, that the Fame of his Writings had gone before him, ſome of his Books being already publiſh'd; and the great Reſort of the Nobility of *Rome* to hear him teach Philoſophy as ſoon as he arriv'd there, is a ſtrong Proof of this Suppoſition. As he had been ſeveral times in *Italy* before he ſettled there, ſo it is likely that his Acquaintance begun then with the Learned *Senecio*, who was four times Conſul. Yet it is very probable that *Plutarch*'s Deſign of Writing the Lives of ſo many *Romans*, was one (and perhaps the ſtrongeſt) Motive to his coming to live in *Rome*; that as he had travell'd *Greece* to have a more perfect Knowledge of thoſe Laws, Cuſtoms, and Memorials, which related to the Lives of the *Greek Worthies*, ſo he would at the Fountain Head of that great Empire make theſe Enquiries into the Cuſtoms, Laws, and Manners of that People, from thoſe Authentic Records, which he could not then find any where elſe, at leaſt ſo fully as thoſe of the Capitol and the Libraries of Great and Learned Men of that City could furniſh him withal. And this ſeems plainly deducible from what *Plutarch* himſelf ſays in his Life of *Demoſthenes*.

'Tis therefore extreamly probable, that in *Rome* his Time was divided betwixt reading all kinds of Philoſophy to the *Romans* of Quality, and his Enquiries into the Records of *Rome*, which could any way relate to the Hiſtory he deſign'd to write.

'Tis

'Tis thought that he continu'd in *Italy* about forty years, not leaving it till the Death of *Trajan*. And at his return to *Cheronea*, being about sixty years old, he was chosen *Archon*, and soon after enter'd himself in the number of the Priests of *Apollo*; in both which Posts he seems to have continu'd to his Death, the Time and Manner of which is unknown, but it is certain that it reach'd to an extream Old-age, and had a calm and natural Close.

| | The Olympiad. | The Year of the Olympiad. | From the building of Rome. | From the Creation. | Before the Birth of Christ. | The Julian Period. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Theseus. | | | | 2706 | 1242 | 3470 |
| Romulus. | 2 | 3 | | 3080 | 768 | 3944 |
| Lycurgus. | | | | 3066 | 882 | 3830 |
| Numa. | 16 | 3 | 40 | 3237 | 711 | 4001 |
| Solon. | 46 | 3 | 184 | 3357 | 502 | 4121 |
| Publicola. | 68 | | 245 | 3442 | 506 | 4490 |
| Themistocles. | 71 | 3 | 259 | 3456 | 492 | 4220 |
| Camillus. | 96 | 2 | 258 | 3555 | 393 | 4319 |
| Pericles. | 78 | 4 | 288 | 3485 | 463 | 4249 |
| Fabius Maximus. | 136 | 4 | 520 | 3701 | 231 | 4481 |
| Alcibiades. | 90 | 3 | 335 | 3532 | 416 | 4296 |
| C.M. Coriolanus Exile | 73 | 2 | 266 | 3463 | 485 | 4227 |
| Timoleon. | 108 | 4 | 408 | 3605 | 343 | 4369 |

| | The Olympiad. | The Year of the Olympiad. | From the building of Rome. | From the Creation. | Before the Birth of Christ. | The Julian Period. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paulus Æmilius. | 152 | 3 | 583 | 3780 | 168 | 4544 |
| Pelopidas Bat. of Leuctra | 102 | 3 | 383 | 3580 | 368 | 4344 |
| Marcellus. | 142 | 2 | 542 | 3739 | 209 | 4503 |
| Aristides. | 72 | 1 | 261 | 3458 | 490 | 4222 |
| Marcus Cato. | 144 | 2 | 550 | 3747 | 201 | 4511 |
| Philopœmen. | 147 | 3 | 503 | 3760 | 168 | 4524 |
| T. Qu. Flaminius, Cef. | 145 | 3 | 555 | 3752 | 196 | 4516 |
| Pyrrhus. | 123 | 1 | 405 | 362 | 268 | |
| Caius Marius. | 168 | 2 | 646 | 3843 | 105 | 4607 |
| Lysander. | 93 | 4 | 348 | 3545 | 403 | 4309 |
| Sylla. | 173 | 1 | 665 | 3862 | 86 | 4626 |
| Cimon. | 78 | 1 | 285 | 3482 | 466 | 4246 |
| Lucullus. | 177 | 2 | 682 | 3879 | 69 | 4643 |

| | The *Olympiad.* | The Year of the *Olympiad.* | From the building of *Rome.* | From the *Creation.* | Before the Birth of *Christ.* | The *Julian* Period. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Nicias.* | 91 | 1 | 337 | 3534 | 414 | 4298 |
| *Marcus Craſſus.* | 177 | 3 | 683 | 3886 | 68 | 4644 |
| *Eumenes.* | 114 | 2 | 431 | 3628 | 320 | 4302 |
| *Sertorius.* | 175 | 4 | 676 | 3878 | 75 | 4637 |
| *Ageſilaus.* | 95 | 1 | 353 | 3556 | 398 | 4314 |
| *Pompey.* | 174 | 3 | 672 | 3869 | 79 | 4633 |
| *Alexander.* | 111 | 2 | 418 | 3615 | 333 | 4379 |
| *Julius Cæſar.* | 180 | 2 | 694 | 3891 | 57 | 4655 |
| *Phocion.* | 105 | 4 | 396 | 3593 | 355 | 4357 |
| *Cato Uticenſis.* | 179 | 4 | 392 | 3889 | 59 | 4653 |
| *Agis.* | 134 | 2 | 510 | 3707 | 241 | 4471 |
| *Cleomenes.* | 134 | 1 | 525 | 3722 | 226 | 3722 |

| | The *Olympiad.* | The Year of the *Olympiad.* | From the building of *Rome.* | From the *Creation.* | Before the Birth of *Christ.* | The *Julian* Period. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Tiberius Gracchus.* | 161 | 1 | 617 | 3814 | 134 | 4578 |
| *Caius Gracchus.* | 163 | 4 | 628 | 3825 | 123 | 4589 |
| *Demetrius.* | 117 | 1 | 441 | 3638 | 310 | 4402 |
| *Mark Anthony.* | 181 | 3 | 699 | 3896 | 52 | 4660 |
| *Aratus.* | 132 | 2 | 502 | 3699 | 249 | 4463 |
| *Artaxerxes.* | 94 | 4 | 352 | 3549 | 399 | 4313 |
| *Dion.* | 105 | 4 | 396 | 3593 | 355 | 4357 |
| *Marcus Brutus.* | 184 | 2 | 710 | 3907 | 41 | 4671 |
| *Demosthenes.* | 105 | 3 | 395 | 3592 | 356 | 4356 |
| *Cicero.* | 175 | 1 | 673 | 3870 | 078 | 4670 |
| *Galba.* | 211 | 4 | 820 | 4017 | 00 | 4780 |
| *Otho.* | 212 | 1 | 821 | 4018 | 00 | 4782 |

THE

# THE LIFE OF *THESEUS.*

*THESEUS* was the Son of *Ægeus*, and *Æthra* the Daughter of *Pittheus*. When *Ægeus*, either by Chance, or the Contrivance of *Pittheus*, had enjoy'd the young Lady, and ſhe prov'd with Child, he depoſited his Sword and Sandals beneath a Stone of a prodigious Size, as the certain future Proof of his Son; and acquainting the Mother with what he had done, order'd her, if the Iſſue were Male, to ſend him privately to him as ſoon as he was grown up to Strength ſufficient to become Maſter of thoſe Credentials of his Birth. *Æthra* being now deliver'd of a Boy, ſhe gave him the Name of *Theſeus*, deriving it from the *depoſiting* or *hiding* of thoſe *Tokens* which the *Grecians* call θέσις, or as others are pleas'd to imagine from *Adoption*, which in *Greek* is call'd θέσις, he receiving the Name of *Theſeus*, when in *Athens* he was acknowledg'd by *Ægeus* for his Son.

*The Etymology of the Name of Theſeus.*

But the Name of this real Father was carefully conceal'd by *Æthra*, to ſtrengthen a Report, rais'd chiefly by the Arts of *Pittheus*, that *Neptune* himſelf had made his Daughter Pregnant; which was a God peculiarly Worſhipp'd in *Trœzena* as the Patron and Protector of that City, in which *Pittheus* was the moſt Conſiderable Perſon of *Authority*. *Theſeus* therefore being now grown up in Strength, Fortitude and Judgment, made a Voyage to

*Delphos* to offer the First-fruits of his Hair to the God, he had the Fore-part of his Head shav'd, that, like the *Abantes* mention'd by *Homer*, he might leave no Hold for his Adversary to fix on. When he was returned from *Delphos* to his Mother, he was very importunate with her to discover his Father to him, upon which she led him to the Stone where *Ægeus* had deposited the Tokens, and gave him a full Information of the Secret of his Birth and Origin; he immediately removed the Stone with all the ease imaginable, and taking thence his Paternal Tokens, designed to go to *Athens*. The Road to *Athens* in those Days was very unsafe, and much infested with Robbers; and tho' both his Mother and Grandfather prest him earnestly rather to trust himself to the Waves, than to the Shore, and take his Passage by Sea to *Athens*, yet he, fir'd with a generous Emulation of *Hercules*, whose Actions he endeavour'd to imitate, and whose Fame gave him great Thoughts, he chose to go by Land. For by the Mother's Side his Relation to *Hercules* was not very distant, for they were Second Cosins, for *Pittheus* and *Lysidices* were Brothers and Sons of *Hippodamia*, and *Pelops*; *Æthra* was the Daughter of *Pittheus*, and Mother of *Theseus*, and *Alcumena* the Mother of *Hercules* the Daughter of *Lysidices*. *Theseus* therefore thought it unworthy of his Race to shun the Encounter of Robbers, when *Hercules* by his Virtue and Valour had cleared both Sea and Land from whatever infested them; and he thought that he should sully his Father's Fame and Reputation if he should deliver the Sword and Sandals to him as the Credentials of his Birth, without ennobling them with the Blood of Miscreants, and some Brave and Valorous Action. This being the Reason of his Choice of a Journey by Land, his First Adventure was with *Periphetes*, whom Armed with a Club, and denying him Passage, he killed in *Epidauria*, bearing away the Club as a Weapon of War, which in Imitation of *Hercules* he ever after made use of. In the *Isthmus* he Slew *Sinnis* the *Pine-bender* in the same manner in which he used to vanquish others, and got *Menalippus* on his Daughter, who was a Woman of extraordinary Beauty. In *Cromyon* with a great deal of Courage he killed one *Phæa*, either a wild Sow of prodigious Size, and *Ferocity*, or a Woman very Notorious for Robbery on the High-way. Some likewise ascribe to *Theseus* the oppressing of *Scyron* in the Confines of the *Megarensians*, but Historians differ in this Particular. At *Eleusis* he slew the *Arcadian Cercyon* after he had overcome him in Wrestling. Not long after this in *Hermione* he slew

*Damastes*,

*Damaſtes*, call'd alſo *Procuſtes*, by the ſame Torture with which he us'd to Murder his Gueſts. This was in Imitation of *Hercules*, who always puniſhed the Committers of Outrages with the ſame Cruelty which they uſed to Strangers; thus he Sacrific'd *Buſyris* on his Bloody Altar, *Cygnus* he vanquiſhed in a Duel, he ſtifled *Antheus*, and cut off the Head of *Termerus*; the ſame Method *Theſeus* purſued in making the Manner and Inſtruments of the Offence, the Manner and Inſtruments of Puniſhment.

As he purſu'd his Journey, and was receiv'd with Honour and Hoſpitality by the *Phytalidæ*, he heard the News that *Ægeus* and his whole Court was diſtracted with the Factions of the Citizens. *Theſeus* therefore arriving at *Athens* on the Eighth of *June*, found *Ægeus* and his Family more diſturbed by *Medea* than the Factions of the City; who flying from *Corinth* to *Athens*, pretended to work ſtrange Cures on *Ægeus*, who admitted her to his Bed in Hopes of Promis'd Children, but always in Fear of the Arrival of *Theſeus*; ſhe only now diſcover'd that he was come, and therefore while yet conceal'd, ſhe perſwaded the Old Man to poiſon his unknown Gueſt; for *Theſeus* made no immediate diſcovery of himſelf, but reſolving to try whether his Father wou'd know him by the Tokens, he drew the Sword out of the Scabbard at the Table, as if he meant to Carve his Meat with it. By this *Ægeus* knowing him, embrac'd him as his Son, and threw the Bowl of Poiſon from the Table, and ſo with the general Joy and Applauſe of all he is acknowledg'd and fix'd his Father's Succeſſor.

*The Revolt of the* Pallantidæ *and their Overthrow.*

But the *Pallantidæ* promiſing themſelves the Reſtoration of the Crown, on the Death of *Ægeus* without Children, viewing this Adoption of *Theſeus* with an Evil Eye, as People in deſpair falling to Arms, part under *Pallas* march'd in open Order, and part lay in an Ambuſcade in the Village of *Gergettus*, where being diſcover'd by their Crier or Herald to *Theſeus*, he attacks them, and cuts them all to pieces. But the Followers of *Pallas* hearing of the Slaughter of their Confederates, immediately betook themſelves to Flight.

This Difficulty overcome, and his Affairs now compos'd, to gratifie the People, he took the *Marathonian* Bull alive, that at that time very much infeſted the *Tetrapolitans*; and driving him alive through the City, he ſacrific'd him to *Apollo*. In the mean while the Time of the Tribute paid by the *Athenians* to *Minos* drew near: The Riſe of which was this; The Son of *Minos* was treacherouſly Murder'd on the Confines of *Attica*, which

*The Fate of* Androgeus.

drew on the Country not only the Arms of *Minos*, but the Anger of the Gods, till wearied out by the Plagues of War, and Divine Wrath, by the Order of the Oracle they agreed by their Ambaſſadors to pay the Tribute of Seven Young Men, and as many Virgins, to be devoured by the *Minotaure*, as an Expiation of the Murder of *Androgeus*. They had already Twice paid this Melancholly Tax, and now the Third Payment ariſing due, *Theſeus* in pity of the miſerable State of his People offer'd himſelf voluntarily to be One, and ſhare the Common Misfortune and Publick Calamity. While this Generous Offer of *Theſeus* gave a general Joy, *Ægeus* heard it with a great deal of Pain and Concern; but when all his Arguments were unable to make him alter his Reſolution, he only order'd *Amarſyada Phereclus*, the Pilot of his Ship, that if his Son came off Victorious he ſhou'd hoiſt a White Sail in his Return; the Ship that bore theſe Victims us'd always to uſe a Black Sail, as in a Voyage of inevitable Deſtruction. Having therefore got all the Young Men required, he ſet Sail to *Delphos* to pray to *Apollo* for their Common Deliverance; where having received an agreeable Anſwer, he paſſed into *Crete*; where being arrived, he demanded the Combate againſt *Taurus*, who had always hitherto been Conqueror in the Games; and by the Inſolence of his Manners, former Succeſs, and ſuſpected Familiarity with the Queen, had drawn on himſelf the Envy and Hatred of all *Crete*; the Combate being eaſily granted by *Minos*, *Theſeus* overcame him with his Arms, and the Heart of *Ariadne* with his Beauty and Valour, and *Minos* himſelf was ſo pleas'd with the Overthrow of *Taurus*, that he returned the Captives, and remitted the Tribute for ever to *Athens*.

*Ariadne.*

The Flight of *Ariadne* with him, his leaving her in *Naxus*, as weary of the Amour, or in *Cyprus*, by the Neceſſity of her Travel, and the Force of the Winds, her hanging herſelf, or dying in Child-bed, and Conſecration as a Goddeſs by the Name of *Venus Ariadne*, are ſo uncertain, that there is no Dependance to be had on them. He Sails away to *Delos*, where having paid his Thanks and Devotions, and inſtituted Games and Dances in Honour of the Gods, directed his Courſe back to *Attica*. But the Joy of their Succeſs had baniſh'd the Memory of the promis'd Signal of Victory, ſo that when *Ægeus*, ſollicitous of his Son's ſafety, beheld the Black Sail, vanquiſhed by Grief he threw himſelf into the Sea from the Beach, and gave it his Name. When *Theſeus* was informed of this unfortunate Accident, all in Mourning, and full of Grief, he paſſed into the City, and performing all juſt Obſequies to his Father, he Buried him with all due Magnificence.

*The Death of Ægeus.*

Not

Not long after the Death of *Ægeus* he accompliſh'd a mighty Undertaking, obliging all the Inhabitants of *Attica* to a Coalition into One People, and One City, giving them this Promiſe, that as ſoon as Affairs were ſettled he would ſet them at Liberty in a popular Adminiſtration without any King; and that he would only be their General in War, and Guardian of their Laws in Peace. The whole Country complying with his Propoſals, either out of a levelling Deſire, or out of Fear of his Power, he aboliſh'd the ſeveral and diſtinct *Prytanea*, Courts of Juſtice and Magiſtracies, eſtabliſhing but One *Prytaneum*, One Common Council or Senate for all; he call'd the City *Athens*; having for this End inſtituted one common Sacrifice call'd *Panathenæa*, or *the Sacrifice of all the United* Athenians, to which he added one more, which is call'd *Metacæa* for Foreigners, that came and ſettled in *Athens*, in both which a general and publick Joy is expreſs'd for their Common Union in One City. Having therefore fix'd the Commonwealth, he laid aſide the Royalty, and publiſhed the Edict, *Come hither all ye People*, &c. inviting all Men as it were by this to an equality of Life. So that when an incredible Multitude of People flock'd daily to the City, he divided them into Three Orders, the Nobility, the Artificers, and Husbandmen. He cauſed Money to be ſtamped with the Impreſſion of a Bull, in Memory either of his Victory over that of *Marathon*, or of his vanquiſhing the *Cretan Taurus*, or to invite all with the more Earneſtneſs to Agriculture, and Husbandry. He added the Country of the *Megarenſians* to *Attica*, in Memory of which he erected a Pillar on the *Iſthmus* with this Inſcription, *That Country that lyes to the Eaſt is* Ionia, *and not the* Peleponneſus, *that which lyes towards the Weſt is the* Peloponneſus *not* Ionia. He firſt inſtituted the *Iſthmian* Games in Honour of *Neptune*, following the Example of *Hercules*, who Founded the *Olympian* in Honour of *Jupiter*. He made this Compact with the *Corinthians*, that in this great Conflux of People the *Athenians* ſhould take Place of all others.

Panathenæa.

*The Democracy of* Athens.

*The* Iſthmian *Games.*

After this it is ſaid, that going with *Hercules* into the *Euxine* Sea, he made War with the *Amazones*, and receiv'd *Antiope* as the Reward of his Service. But the Hiſtorians are mightily divided about *Antiope*. *Soloon*, one of the Companions of *Theſeus*, falling in Love with her, threw himſelf into a River, unable to bear her ſlight of his Paſſion. *Theſeus* being extreamly afflicted at the Death of his Friend, recalled to mind the *Pythian* Oracle, which had foretold him great Anguiſh in a Foreign Country, and

Antiope.

Pythopolis *Built by* Theſeus.

ordered him there to Build a City, which he did, giving it the Name of *Pythopolis*; and leaving there the Brothers of *Soloon*, and *Hermus*, a Noble *Athenian*, as Conſervator of their Laws, and giving the Name of *Soloon* to the River, he purſued his Journey. There are ſome Authors who will have it, that *Theſeus* made War and vanquiſh'd the *Amazons* without *Hercules*, and, that he bore away *Hippolita*, and not *Antiope*, by whom he had *Hippolitus*, and after whoſe Death he Married *Phædra*, whoſe Fate, with that of *Hippolitus*, was moſt deplorable, as is plain from the Tragick Poets. He was Married ſeveral times beſides what we have mentioned; for he forc'd *Anaxo* the *Trœzenian*, and having kill'd *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he raviſh'd their Daughters; he farther Married *Peribea*, the Mother of *Ajax*; and then *Jope*, the Daughter of *Iphicles*, and ſhamefully repudiated *Adriadne*, the Daughter of *Panopeus*, for the Sake of *Ægle*, with whom he was extreamly in Love; and laſtly, the Rape of *Helen*, that filled his Country with Blood, and was the Cauſe of his Exile and Death.

Tho' his great Actions were generally done without Partners, yet he went with *Jaſon* to *Colchos*, and hunted with *Meleager* the *Calydonian* Boar. He obliged the *Thebans* to ſurrender the Body of the Slain before that City to *Adraſtus*; and a perpetual Friendſhip and Brotherhood in War being vow'd betwixt *Perithous* and him, which took Riſe from their Firſt Interview, being invited to his Wedding with *Deidamia*, he joined the *Lapithæ* in their Revenge and Victory over the *Centaurs*, occaſioned by their Luſt and Brutality to the Women.

*Theſeus* being Fifty Years of Age, going with *Perithous* into *Sparta*, he carried away *Helena*, not yet ripe for Marriage, as ſhe was dancing in the Temple of *Diana Orythia*. She falling by *Lot* to *Theſeus*, he ſent her to *Aphidnæ*, to an Ally call'd *Aphidnus*, charging him to conceal the Place of her Abode, and ſent his Mother *Æthra* to look to her Education. Then according to Agreement he went with *Perithous* to *Epirus*, thence to bear away the Daughter of *Aidoneus*, or *Pluto*, King of the *Moloſſians*, who call'd his Wife *Ceres*, his Daughter *Proſepina*, and a great Dog that he kept *Cerberus*, with which all were to fight who pretended to Court her.

But when he found that *Theſeus* and *Perithous* came not as fair Pretenders, but Raviſhers, he caus'd them both to be ſeiz'd, and *Perithous* to be thrown to the devouring Dog, and *Theſeus* to be confin'd to a Priſon.

At this very time *Meneſtheus*, the Son of *Peteus*, ſtirred up the Leading Men of *Athens* againſt *Theſeus*, perſwading them that *Theſeus* had robbed ev'ry one of them of his own peculiar Principality and Power, and now held them like Slaves coop'd up in a Town. And the War now beginning betwixt *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and *Athens* for *Helen*, and *Aphidnæ* being taken and gently us'd by them, *Meneſtheus* adviſ'd them to open their Gates to them, ſince they wou'd be always a ſure Guard againſt *Theſeus*, and be his conſtant Enemy as a Robber and Stranger. The Nobility therefore now having ſeiz'd on the Government of *Athens*, overpowering the Friends of *Theſeus*, they Baniſh his Mother *Æthra* to *Lacedemon*. *Meneſtheus ſtir the Nobles againſt Theſeus.*

But when *Hercules* was Entertained by King *Aidoneus*, and mention was made of *Perithous* and *Theſeus*, he was much concerned for the ſhameful Death of the former, and ſet the latter at Liberty. But returning to *Athens*, he found the whole State inverted by *Meneſtheus*, and while he endeavours to repreſs their Inſolence, being worſted by the contrary Faction, ſending his Children to *Elephenor*, he fled to *Gargettus*, where he ſolemnly curſed the ingrateful *Athenians*. Thence paſſing by Sea to *Scyros*, he beſought *Lycomedes*, their King, to afford him Aſſiſtance againſt the *Athenians*; who either jealous of ſo great a Man, or afraid of *Meneſtheus* leading him up to the higheſt Cliff of the Rock, under Pretence of ſhewing him thence the Country he deſired, he threw him headlong from the Rock, where he periſh'd. Other Authors attribute his Death to an Accidental ſlip of his Feet as he walked there in the Evening according to his Cuſtom. His Sons having accompanied *Elephenor* to the *Trojan* War, after the Death of *Meneſtheus*, who died in that Expedition, recovered the Government of *Athens*. In After-ages the *Athenians*, convinced by Miracles, and commanded by the Oracle of *Delphos*, to ſeek out the Bones of *Theſeus*, and bring them with Honour to the City, the Barbarity of the *Iſlanders* long diſappointed their Enquiry, till *Cimon* at laſt taking the Iſland, by the Angury of an Eagle finding his Coffin, the Head of his Launce and Sword, brought them in Triumph to *Athens*, and that with ſo great and general Applauſe, as if they had received *Theſeus* himſelf. His Bones therefore were placed near the *Gymnaſium*, or Place of Exerciſe, and there in Honour of him was the *Aſylum*, for the Slaves and Poor from the Inſolence of the Rich, as their Patron and Defender; there being ordained for the future an Annual Sacrifice on the 8th of *October* in Memory of his *Cretan* Victory, and his *The Athenians fall off from Theſeus.* *The Death of Theſeus.*

Return to *Athens* with the Devoted Young Men and Virgins; and on the Eighth of every Month.

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# The LIFE of ROMULUS.

PAssing by the various, uncertain, and uſeleſs Opinions of the Origin of *Rome*, from the Valour of the *Pelaſgians*, the *Trojan* Lady *Roma*, from whom the Wives kiſſing their Husbands is derived, the Daughter of *Italus*, *Telephus* or *Aſcanius*; or from *Romus*, the Son of *Emathion*; or of that King of the *Latines*, who expell'd the *Tuſcans*; I ſhall but lightly touch the differing Opinions about the Birth and Parents of *Romulus* himſelf. Some make him the Son of *Æneas*, and *Dexithea*, and caſt by a Wreck on a level Bank of a River with his Brother. Some make his Mother Daughter to *Latinus* and *Roma*; others make him the Son of *Æmilia*, (the Daughter of *Lavinia* and *Æneas*,) by the God *Mars*. I ſhall paſs over the Fable of *Tarchetius*, King of *Alba*, and the ſtrange Viſion on his Hearth, refuſed by his Daughter, and accepted by the Maid, from whom ſprung *Romulus* and *Remus*, and come to that which is moſt generally receiv'd. The Kingdom of *Alba* being come to *Numitor* and *Amulius*, the latter ſoon expels his Brother, confines his Daughter *Ilia*, or *Rhea*, or *Sylvia*, to the Veſtal Nunnery for fear of Iſſue; yet that not being ſufficient, ſhe is ſoon found with Child, and with great Difficulty redeem'd from the extreameſt Puniſhment by the Mediation of *Antho*, the King's Daughter, by a Confinement from all Humane Converſation; but being delivered of Two Beautiful and Luſty Boys, *Amulius*, yet more terrified, commanded a Servant to expoſe them in a Trough on the River, which landed them on a Plain called *Cermanum*, where lying beneath a wild Figtree, a *She Wolf*, or a Woman call'd *Lupa*, from her Proſtitution, nurs'd them, and a ſmall *Wood-pecker* conſtantly brought them Food.

*The Birth of Romulus and Remus.*

Here

Here *Fauſtulus*, Herdſman to *Amulius*, found them ſome time after he had expoſed them, and brought them to his Wife *Acca Laurentia*, who Nurs'd and Educated them as her own. Their Infancy and Childhood promiſed that Bravery and Wiſdom that their Manhood diſcover'd; hating Sloth, they applied themſelves to all manner of Exerciſe; but *Romulus* excelled in Wiſdom, and diſclos'd a Genius fitter to Govern, than be a Subject; to their Comrades and Inferiours, Curteous and Affable, they deſpiſed the Bayliffs, Overſeers of the King, as at moſt their Equals, contemning their Threats and Commands. But by exerciſing themſelves, hunting Wild Beaſts, catching or driving away Thieves and Robbers, they became very Famous among the Shepherds and the Neighbouring Parts.

A Quarrel ariſing between the Herdſmen of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, the former in the Fray were put to flight, and pillaged by the latter, reinforced by Vagabonds and Slaves, without any Dread of the Menaces of *Numitor*, whoſe Herdſmen meeting with *Remus* whilſt his Brother was Sacrificing, after ſome Conteſt took him Priſoner, and by the Complaints of *Numitor* and the Men of *Alba*, *Amulius* ſurrendered him to his Brother to puniſh as he pleas'd. But *Numitor* being ſtrook with the Manlineſs of his Perſon and Conſtancy of Mind in his preſent Danger, enquired calmly into his Birth. *Remus* acknowledging his Juſtice in hearing before Puniſhment, informs him of all that he had lately learnt of his Origin, that being expoſed, fed by a Wolf and Wood-pecker, and bred up by *Fauſtulus* and *Laurentia*, whoſe Children they thought themſelves till lately. Being touch'd with this Account, and the Age and Beauty of the Youth, he went to try to get private Acceſs to his Daughter to enquire into the Matter.

*Fauſtulus* hearing that *Remus* was in Cuſtody, flies firſt to *Romulus*, unfolds his Origin, and begs immediate Succour for his Brother, and taking the Trough in his Hands, made ſpeed to *Numitor* to prevent his Fate. *Romulus* having got together a good Body of Armed Men, and among them many of *Alba*, drawn either by the Fear or Hatred of the Tyrant, he divided them into Companies of 100 Men each, before which an Enſign Marched with a Bundle of Graſs or Shrubs tied to a Pole or Pike, who were in following Times called *Manipulares*, from the Bundles they bore, called in *Latin Manipuli*, Attacking the Town

*The Death of Amulius.*

Town on the ſudden, and no Reſiſtance within, he ſoon enters takes and puts the Tyrant to Death; and having reſtored the Kingdom to *Numitor*, and paid their juſt Duty to their Mother, they retired to the Place where they were expos'd; and for preſerving the Multitude together that was flock'd to them, they agreed to Build a City, but cou'd not ſo eaſily agree on the Spot, each ſtriving for that which he liked beſt, till at laſt it was ſtipulated that he that ſaw the greateſt Augury ſhould have the Right of chuſing the Place, and impoſing the Name. In the Morning *Remus* ſaw but Six Vultures, but *Romulus* aſſerted he ſaw Twelve, ſo carried the Point; but *Remus* coming to find out the Impoſition, flew into a great Paſſion, diſturbing the Building, and leaping with Contempt o'er the Trenches, till it came to Blows, and *Remus* fell in the Fray, either by *Romulus*, or one *Celer*.

*The Death of Remus.*

*Romulus* having buried his Brother, ſet himſelf to Building his City with the Advice of the *Thuſcan* Surveyors; the Foundations being laid, he opened an *Aſylum*, or a Refuge, for all Fugatives for Debt, Murder, *&c.* where they were ſecure, and inſtituted One Hundred Senators, calling whom Fathers, their College or Place of Meeting he named the *Senate*; and the other Men of Power and Figure he call'd Patrons, and the reſt Clients, who were ſupported, and adviſ'd by their Patronage and Counſel, the Multitude he call'd the People.

*The Senate.*

*The People.*

Four Months after the Building the City, *Romulus* conſidering that his People without Wives wou'd ſoon diſſipate, and come to nothing; and finding that the Neighbouring People wou'd liſten to no Alliances of that kind, he pretended to Celebrate ſome Sacred Games, to which when a vaſt Multitude of the *Sabines* reſorted, *Romulus* having given the Sign, they ſeiz'd not much leſs than 800 Virgins, whom diſtributing among the moſt Eminent, he took *Herſilia* to himſelf. Refuſing to return the Virgins, *Acron*, King of the *Ceninenſes* began the War on *Rome*, dreading from this the Bold Attempts of *Romulus*. The Armies meeting *Romulus*, firſt fights and kills *Acron*, then routs his Army, and takes his City; to which he offered no Injury, but commanded them to demoliſh their Houſes, and remove to *Rome*, there to enjoy all the Priviledges of his own Citizens; which Method of incorporating the Conquered, augmented and eſtabliſhed the Power of *Rome*. And having vow'd the *Royal Spoils* to *Jupiter Feretrius*, (ſo called from *ferire* to ſmite,) he entred the City in Triumph on Foot, bearing the Spoils fixt to a ſmall Oak, Multitudes of his People attending with Acclamations,

*The Rape of the Sabians.*

clamations, and Dedicated the Trophy according to his Vow.

After this Overthrow of the *Ceninenſes*, the *Sabines* being ſtill tedious in their Preparations, the People of *Fidena*, *Cruſtumenium*, and *Antemna*, waſting the *Roman* Confines in Revenge of the *Ceninenſes*, were vanquiſh'd, put to flight, and their Cities being demoliſhed, they were received into the Freedom of the City; but the Lands that were taken, except what belonged to the Parents of the Virgins, were divided among the Soldiers.

*The* Sabine *War.*

This Succeſs alarm'd and enraged the reſt of the *Sabines*, who chuſing *Tatius* their Leader, marched with a ſtrong Force againſt *Rome*, but finding the taking the City with downright Force a Work of difficulty, *Tatius* had recourſe to Fraud, and agrees with *Tarpeia*, the Daughter of *Tarpeius*, the Governour of the Caſtle, ſince called the *Capitol*, to give her all the Bracelets of their Arms (with which ſhe was extreamly taken) if ſhe wou'd betray the *Capitol* to them. The Compact being made, the *Sabines* are admitted in the midſt of the Night, and *Tarpeia* ſmothered with the Reward of her Treaſon. But *Romulus* finding the Enemy poſſeſſed of the *Capitol*, diſſembling a ſort of Flight, drew the *Sabines* to purſue them, when *Romulus* turning on them began the Fight. There was ſeveral ſharp Encounters betwixt them, in one *Romulus* was dangerouſly wounded with a Contuſion on his Head, which made his Troops give Ground, till retreating to the *Pallatium* he recovered, but yet unable to ralley his Forces, prayed to *Jupiter Stator* (that is the *Stayer*) to take pity of the deſperate Fate of the *Roman* Cauſe, and ſtop ſo ignominious a Flight. The Prayer was ſcarce finiſh'd when the *Romans* turned about, fight bravely, ſlaughter the Foe, and drive him as far a *Rhegia*; where when the *Sabines* endeavour to renew the Fight, and the Air rung with Clamour, behold the *Sabine* Women on each ſide thruſt themſelves into the midſt of the Battel through the Weapons, and over the Dead Bodies, ſome loaden with their Infants in their Arms, and others big with Child, now applying themſelves to their Parents, now to their Relations, and now to their Husbands, ſoothing the Rage of their Minds, and endeavouring to calm them to Peace and Agreement. Truce at laſt is concluded by the Prayers and Reaſons of *Herſilia*, and the Perſwaſions of the reſt, and an Alliance concluded in this manner, That the Women ſhould be at Liberty to ſtay with or leave their Husbands. That *Rome* ſhould

Tarpeia *betrays the* Capitol.

Jupiter *the* Stayer.

*The* Sabines *are receiv'd into* Rome.

be common to both Nations, but retain its Name from *Romulus*, tho' the *Romans* ſhou'd from the Country of *Tatius* be called *Quirites*. That the Royalty ſhould be common to both Leaders. The People were divided into Three Tribes, 1. *Rhamnenſes*, from *Romulus*. 2. *Tatienſes*, from *Tatius*. And, 3. *Luceres*, from the Grove in the *Aſylum*; the Senate was augmented with 100 *Sabines*, theſe received the Swords from the *Romans*, and the *Romans* the Target from them. But the Feſtivals and Sacrifices of each Nation were preſerved and us'd in Common, and ſeveral New inſtituted, as the *Matronalia*, *Carmentalia*, *Palilia*, *Lupercalia*, and the like. *Romulus* is the reputed Inſtitutor of the *Veſtal* Virgins for the keeping the Sacred Fire. And being a great Augur himſelf, he carried always in his Hand the Divining Wand, called *Lituus*, which is a Crooked Rod proper for deſcribing the Quarters of the Heavens in *Soothſaying*.

All other Rights and Royalties were equally and quietly put in Execution by both *Tatius* and *Romulus*, till the Fifth Year of the Reign of the former, when the Ambaſſadors of *Laurentum* were Aſſaulted, Robb'd, and Murdered on the Road by ſome of the Relations of *Tatius*; whom when *Romulus* deſigned to puniſh, *Tatius* hindred, and delayed the Execution. This was the Origin of a great Contention between them, tho' in all other Points of the Adminiſtration they acted with a perfect good Underſtanding. The Relations of the Slain being thus denied Juſtice, fell on him while they were Sacrificing at *Lavinium*, diſmiſſing *Romulus* with Praiſe of the Juſtice. But he incurr'd the Suſpicion of at leaſt ſome Satisfaction, in being freed from a Partner in Government, by not puniſhing the Aſſaſſines, ſent bound to him from *Laurentum*.

*The Death of* Tatius.

But the *Sabines* after the Death of *Tatius* remained very quiet and peaceable, fearing no Evil from *Romulus*, and reſpecting him as a God, maintaining ſtill their former Veneration and Good-will for him; ſo that the Fame and Virtue of *Romulus* every Day encreas'd and ſpread all around. This made the *Latines* enter into Amity and Confederacy with him. *Fidenæ*, near *Rome*, he took by Stratagem, and ſending thither 1500 Inhabitants, he made it a *Roman* Colony. About this Time came a great Peſtilence, which kill'd without Sickneſs; it made the Fields and Cattel barren, and rain'd Drops of Blood. But the ſame Miſchiefs falling on *Laurentum*, it was concluded, that the Law of Nations being violated in the Murthers of the *Ambaſſadors*, and *Tatius* was the Cauſe

*Prodigies.*

of

of the Calamity, which nothing cou'd remove but a thorough Expiation, but the Murderers on both Sides delivered up to Punishment the Plague decreased. But it was not yet ceas'd, and *Romulus* was taken up with purifying the City when the *Camerians* invaded the *Romans*. But *Romulus* soon drawing out his Men, and meeting them, not only gave them the Overthrow, with the Slaughter of Six Thousand of their Men, but took their City, and transplanted half the People to *Rome*, and sent thence double the Number he left at *Cameria*.

The Power of *Rome* every Day encreasing, its weaker Neighbours easily submitted; but the Strangers out of Fear and Envy thought *Romulus* ought to have a stop put to his growing Greatness. The *Veientes* of *Tuscany*, a powerful People, reclaiming *Fidenæ* as a Fief of theirs, on a scornful Reply to their Demand declared War against the *Romans*. dividing their Army, one part they sent against *Romulus*, while the other besieges and attacks the City of *Fidenæ*; these being Victorious, slew about 2000 Men; the former being vanquished, lost about 8000. The Armies fighting again near *Fidenæ*, *Romulus* by the Consent of all performing the Bravest Actions of the Day, the *Romans* gain'd a Compleat Victory, the Enemy leaving 14000 on the Spot; *Romulus* suffering the rest to escape, drew his Army to the Walls of their City. But they disheartned with so great a Loss, sue to him for Peace, and obtained a Truce of 100 Years, and gave Noblemen Hostages for the true Observation of it; however, *Romulus* Fin'd them the Seventh Part of their Lands, and returned in Triumph to *Rome*, leading their General, and abundance of Captives, Prisoners in his Train.

*The* Veientes *subdued.*

This is the last Battel he fought, but puff'd up with such great and miraculous Successes, he seem'd to discover that latent Spirit of Tyranny he had hitherto concealed, and went always cloath'd in Purple, and gave Audience on a Throne or Chair of State; and taking to himself a Guard of Young Men, whom from their great swiftness he named *Celeres*, others preceded him with long Staves to make Way, and bound those with Cords who were refractory to the King's Will, and led them about; these were called *Lictores*, from *Ligare* to bind.

Romulus *affects the Tyranny.*

When the Kingdom of *Alba* by the Death of his Grandfather *Numitor* devolved upon him, he made it a Free State, which taught the Senators of *Rome* to aim at the like. The *Patricians* till then were only honourable Cyphers, having no Power of deciding Controversies, or making Laws. But they found themselves made a meer Jest, when

when *Romulus*, without consulting them, distributed the Conquered Lands among the Soldiers, and returned the Hostages to the *Veientes*. And he soon after disappearing in a great Storm, which had drove away all but the Senators, left on them a Suspicion of Foul Play, but *Julus Proculus*, a Man of Probity and Honour, prevented the ill Effect that this Murder had like to have produc'd in the People. He returning from *Alba*, whence he came with *Romulus*, and his known Friend by a Sacred Oath assur'd them that on the Road he appear'd to him more Majestick than formerly, and told him, on his Demand why he left them in Sorrow for his Loss, *That the Gods thought fit to recal him since he had Built the Noblest City in the World, which should have a perpetual Empire by their Temperance and Fortitude, and that he wou'd be to them always a propitious God under the Name of* Quirinus. The People had so great a Confidence in this Account, by reason of the Honour and Oath of the Relator, and their Veneration for the King, that satisfied in his Word, they every where proclaimed him *Quirinus*. He vanish'd in the 54th Year of his Age, and the 38th of his Reign, to whom there was a Temple Built on the Nones of *July*, called the *Nones of the Goats*, or the *Flight of the People*, because they go from the City to the *Goats Marsh* to Sacrifice. *Quirinus* signifies Martial or Warlike, from a Lance or Spear, called by the Ancients *Quiries* or κυρίνον.

*The Death of* Romulus.

*He is made the God* Quirinus.

## *The Comparison of* Theseus *and* Romulus.

WE gather from what is written of *Theseus*, that he was intent on great Actions, by his own Magnanimity, and proper Inclination to Glory, as is plain from his quitting *Trœzene*, where he might have Reigned, borne on by a dauntless aspiring to something more Noble for the Sake and Benefit of others, voluntary exposing himself to Danger, to purge the Countries of *Monsters*, as *Scyron*, *Simis*, *Procrustes*, *Corynetes*, *Periphetes*, &c. Whereas *Romulus* seems to have been compelled to great Exploits by the State of his Affairs, and the Rescue of his Brother. Tho' in the *Sabine* War he killed their King *Acron*, and wounded, put his Enemy to flight, yet the War of the *Centaurs* and *Amazons* of *Theseus* may be compared to those. But the Honour and Generosity of *Theseus* in offering himself as a Victim for his Country, and by that delivering it from the Bloody Tribute to *Crete*, cannot be expressed; nor does the Love of *Ariadne*, which was the Cause of his Safety, seem to have proceeded from less than a Divinity. Both

Born

Born for Government, both err'd by a different Paſſion from the Point, one to Popularity, the other to Tyranny. Neither are to be excuſed in the vehemence of their Anger againſt a Brother or a Son; tho' even here the Anger of *Theſeus* terminated in hot Words, the Cataſtrophe belonging to *Chance*, and with a greater Provocation than that of *Romulus* againſt his Brother. The Principal Glory of *Romulus* is, that from Small Beginnings he Founded a City, and provided his Followers with Lands, Country, and Wives, and Children. He made no Deſolations, but furniſhed Dwellings to thoſe that wanted them; and tho' he was not ſo great a Queller of Robbers and Murtherers, yet he Conquered Nations and Kings. The Hand his Brother fell by is uncertain, but he expreſſed a Duty to his Mother, preſerved her from Ruin, and replaced his depoſed Grandfather on his Throne, never injuring him ſo much as by Neglect; but *Theſeus* is condemned for not taking Care to change the Black Sail; and that he committed various Rapes upon Women, while *Romulus* is found out of near 800 *Sabine* Women only to have retained *Herſilia*, diſtributing the reſt among his Nobles; who found ſuch Honour and Reſpect, that they produc'd a laſting Peace and Union. But Slaughter, Enmities, and War, were the Conſequence of the Amorous Adventures of *Theſeus*; and his Mother being left by him fell into great Misfortune. The Gods were Propitious to *Romulus*, but *Theſeus* ſeems Born againſt their Will, when the Oracle forbad his Father's knowing Woman in a Foreign and Strange Land.

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# The LIFE of *LICURGUS.*

THE Father of *Lycurgus* the Lawgiver was *Eunomus*, who endeavouring to appeaſe a Tumult, was ſtabb'd by a Cook with his Knife, and left his Kingdom to *Polydectes*, his Eldeſt Son by a former Wife, who dying ſoon after, *Lycurgus* the younger Son by *Dianaſſa*, Second Wife to *Eunomus*, ſucceeded to the Throne. But when he found *The Parentage of* Lycurgus.

found that his Brother's Widow was with Child, he publickly declared, that the Crown was the Right of his Brother's Iſſue if it ſhould prove Male, and that he wou'd act only as his Guardian and Protector during his Minority. The pregnant Queen ambitious to be Wife to him that Reigned, propoſed to him the making herſelf miſcarry; but he deteſting her unnatural Temper, ſeems however to comply with the Main of her Deſign, deſiring her for the Sake of her own Health to think no more of the Abortion, he wou'd take particular Care to have the Child ſecretly taken out of the Way. Soothed with this Promiſe, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to go out her Time, and when ſhe was brought to Bed, *Lycurgus* ordered her Aſſiſtants to leave the Child with the Mother if it were a Girl, but to bring it to him if a Boy. So that when the Newborn Infant was bronght to him, he ſaid to the Princes that were ſitting with him, *Behold my Lords of* Sparta *here is a King Born to us!* While every one was amaz'd at his Greatneſs of Mind, and Perfect Juſtice, ariſing from the Throne he placed the Child upon it, and paying as it were his Homage, he Named him *Charilaus*. This gave him ſuch an Authority and Veneration among the People, that they more obeyed him for his Virtue than Power, as Protector of the King.

But this great Merit cou'd not eſcape Envy, and was aſſaulted with the Invectives of the Creatures and Relations of the Queen, as well as by herſelf; particularly her Brother *Leonidas*, who in his Debates wou'd fain inſinuate that he had a Deſign of ſecretly deſtroying the Young King. Being therefore apprehenſive of the Clandeſtine Treachery of his Enemies, he thought fit to fly the Bolts of Envy by a voluntary Exile, till *Charilaus* had by Marriage ſecured the Succeſſion. With this Reſolution he ſet Sail for *Crete*, where having conſidered their Laws, ſelected ſome, and rejected others, he grew intimate with *Thales* the Poet, a great Politician, and prevailed with him to paſs to *Lacedemon*, by the Wiſdom of his Precepts and Harmony of his Verſe to inſinuate Obedience, and a quiet Diſpoſition, into the Breaſts of the *Spartans*, which prepared and ſmoothed the Way for the Deſign of *Lycurgus*.

*The Travels of* Lycurgus.

He Sail'd from *Crete* to *Aſia*, comparing the different Government of the Temperate *Cretans* and the Luxurious *Ionians*. Meeting here with the Works of *Homer*, he firſt brought them into Credit in *Greece*. Making ſome ſtay in *Ægypt*, his Abſence was much regretted by the *Lacedæmonians*, and his Return ſollicited by ſeveral Embaſſies; the

Homer's *Works brought to light by* Lycurgus.

Diſturbances

Disturbances that follow'd his Retreat made him desir'd by both Kings and People, as the surest Means of Repressing the Insolence of these, and the Oppression of those.

*His Return to his Country.*

*Lycurgus*, in Compliance with their importunate Desires, returns to *Sparta*, where when he had found the State of the City sick and languishing, he resolv'd a Cure for the Publick Distemper, by a total Reformation, of the Laws, and all Degrees of Men, since Corruption had invaded the Whole. He therefore went to *Delphos* to consult the Oracle, and Sacrifice to the God, from whom he obtain'd the Answer, that made him more than Man, and that the Laws were the Best, and, if observ'd, would make the People the Greatest and most Rever'd in the World. *Arithmiades* was the Person in whose Fidelity he put the most Confidence in the Execution, as he had in his Judgment, in framing the Laws. Coming with him, and about Thirty arm'd Men, early in the Morning into the Market-place, to put his Reformation in Force, a Tumult arose, which frighted *Charilaus* into the Sanctuary of the Temple of *Minerva*, fearing it a Conspiracy against him; but being fully inform'd of what they were about, he came out, and added himself as a Party in the Cause of *Lycurgus*.

*The Laws of Lycurgus.*

Among the many Innovations he made in the Government, there was none more Excellent, or of greater Importance, than the Twenty-eight Senators, which he constituted as a Curb on the Kings from degenerating into Tyrants, and on the People from falling into a Democracy, they ever joining with the weaker Side. His second Law was an equal Division of all the Lands of *Sparta*; and of Moveables too; which latter he effected by crying down Silver and Gold, and making only Iron-Money Current. By this Means he banish'd abundance of Vices: For why should any one Rob or Steal, when there was no Use of the Theft and Rapine in Luxury and Avarice? Now wou'd any Pleaders, Rhetoricians, Merchants, or Goldsmiths, or any Artificer not absolutely necessary, come where there was neither Gold nor Silver? In the Third place, he forbad all Pomp, Magnificence and Luxury in their Feasts and Banquets; and to remove Gluttony and Lust, he forbad Eating at Home, but order'd the Meals to be taken in Publick, all promiscuously together, the Great and the Little, the Rich and the Poor, without any Distinction of Blood, by this Means cutting off the Sumptuous Preparations of the Table, the Hautgousts of the Cooks, and a Voraciousness, whence proceeds a great Corruption of the Manners.

This Inſtitution diſguſted the Great Ones among them, and made them break out into Clamours and Tumults againſt *Lycurgus*: And being driven from the Aſſembly, but flying to a Sanctuary, *Alexander*, a young Gentleman, ſtruck out one of his Eyes. Undaunted with this, *Lycurgus* turns about, and ſhowing his bloody Face to the People, which pierc'd them with ſuch a Sorrow and Repentance, that they deliver'd *Alexander* bound to him to puniſh as he pleas'd. *Lycurgus* diſmiſſing the People with Thanks, broke not out in Word or Act againſt the Offender, but treated him with all Humanity and Civility, and the eaſie Confinement of attending his Repaſt; whence being convinced of the eaſie Temper, Affability, and real Temperance of ſo Great a Man, he became his greateſt Admirer; and from a Diſſolute young Man, a Perſon of the utmoſt Exactneſs of Conduct. In Memory of this Misfortune *Lycurgus* Built a Temple to *Minerva*, the *Preſerver of the Sight*.

*Lycurgus loſes one of his Eyes.*

This was the Method and Order of theſe Publick Repaſts. They met Fifteen, more or leſs, in each Company, every one of whom was obliged to ſend in Monthly a Basket of Meal, Eight Gallons of Wine, Five Pounds of Cheeſe, Two Pounds and Half of Figs, and ſome Money to Buy Fiſh and Fleſh. The firſt of the Sacrifice, and a part of what Veniſon was kill'd in the Chace, was ſent into the Common Hall, Sacrificing and Hunting being the only allow'd Excuſes for Supping at Home. To theſe Tables were the Children ſent, as Schools of Temperance, and Politicks, deliver'd not by Pedants, but Great Stateſmen; here they learn'd to Ralley, and give and take an inoffenſive Jeſt, learning at the ſame time both Modeſty and Civility.

*Lycurgus* never reduc'd his Laws to Writing, which was forbid by one Law of the *Rhetra*, while Luxury and Expenſiveneſs was reſtrain'd by another; for by this he ordain'd, that the Ceilings ſhould only be wrought by the Ax, and the Gates and Doors by the Saw. The Third Ordinance of the *Rhetra* was, That they ſhould not make War often, nor long with the ſame Enemy, leſt that inuring them to War, ſhou'd make 'em more Warlike. The Inconvenience of the Breach of this was ſeen in After-times, when *Ageſilaus*, by frequent Wars with the *Thebans*, made them able to contend with the *Lacedemonians*; and *Antalcidas* told him when wounded by them, That he was well rewarded for forcing them to be Soldiers. *Lycurgus* call'd theſe Laws the *Rhetra*, as if they were the reveal'd Sanctions and Decrees of God.

He

He next proceeded to those Institutions which relate to Marriage and Procreation: He therefore first Decreed, that the young Maids should be exercised in Running, Wrestling, throwing the Bar, and casting the Dart; that being thus made more robust and strong, they might the better support the Pains of Child-bed, and produce a more masculine and vigorous Offspring. He used them likewise to Singing, and Dancing Naked, as well as the Young Men, in their Solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, surrounded by a Ring of young Men, exercising themselves, and striving for the Victory in every honourable Performance. But this appearing Naked had nothing Scandalous in it; for true Modesty and Innocence banish'd all Wantonness, and discover'd a native Simplicity, supported by a Greatness and Elation of the Female Mind, abhorrent of Sloth and Laziness. These Shews and Emulations of the Virgins and Young Men very much promoted Matrimony. For *Lycurgus* punish'd old Batchelors, by excluding them from all the Publick Schools of Exercise, the Shows and Spectacles, and ordering them to be lead about the Market-place Naked in the Winter, and depriving them of that Respect and Honour which was usually paid by Youth to Age. But they were not to take unripe Girls, but Women in their Prime, to their Wives. He likewise prescrib'd the Rules of the Bridegroom coming to the Bride by Stealth, and in the Dark, to keep up that mutual Love, Heat and Affection, which languish with more easie open Access. And to take away the Grounds of Jealousie, by allowing the Men to impart the Use of their Wives to get Children, especially for Old Men to raise Issue thus by Men of Vigour and Youth: And it was lawful for any Man of Merit, if he saw a Woman that was fruitful and modest, to press her Husband to lend her to him; esteeming the Issue of those Copulations the Children of the State; and he laugh'd at those who lock'd up their Wives in their Houses like Prisoners.

*The Virgins going Naked.*

*The Punishment of Batchelors.*

The Fathers had no Right of disposing of their Children: But the Child being brought to the Elders or Triers of the Tribe where it was Born, and if it were Beautiful and Strong he was taken Care of; if otherwise, he was cast into a Cave near *Taygetus*, as unuseful to the Commonwealth. When they were Seven Years Old the Father had it not in his Power to educate him at his Pleasure; but he was inroll'd in the Company instituted by *Lycurgus*, where, with others, he was exercised in all the Best and most Honourable Discipline of Body and Mind, in a perfect Obedience, and the Art of living Well. As they grew older they had

*The Education of Children.*

their Heads close shaved, their Exercises encreasing with their Years, and they were used to go Bare-footed, and to play generally Naked.

After Twelve Years of Age one plain Coat serv'd them a Year, and the rest of their Youth they were attended with the elder Sort to the Publick Schools, and employ'd themselves in honourable Contentions in Strength and Wit; so that they seem to have lost no part of their Time unimprov'd by useful Precepts and Institutes. The Eldest of them, about Eighteen or Twenty, was, by the Old Men, made Captains of each Band, and those under his Command were not only to receive his Instructions, but Commands, either to bear Wood, or get Provisions by Stealth, (for no other Way was allow'd,) which they did with Diligence and Cunning. This Under-Master used to stay a little after Supper with them, and put a Question to one, bid another sing a Song, *&c.* Every one of these had one or more Lovers, who were often punish'd for the Transgression of the Beloved; which made them all careful to instruct them perfectly in all Things.

*Lycurgus* took Care that the Young Men should use themselves to short and pithy Answers, which were an Argument of an ingenuous and liberal Understanding. To one, asking him to establish a popular Government; he reply'd, *First make a Democracy in your Family.* To another, asking why he allow'd such mean Sacrifices to the Gods? He reply'd, *That we may never want something to offer.* Being ask'd, How they might best repulse their invading Enemies? He answer'd, *By continuing poor, and banishing Discord.* Being consulted about surrounding the City with a Wall; he told them, *That City is well fortified which has a Wall of Men instead of Brick.*

He order'd the Young Men to curl and discrimenate their Hair in the Camp, since those that were Handsome appear'd more so in the Battle by that Means, and the Ugly receiv'd from their Hair an additional Terror: They therefore took a peculiar Care that in all Encounters and Assaults they would be as neat and well dress'd as possible. In the Field their Exercises were less toilsome, and their Officers less severe than in their Schools; so that War seem'd to them a sort of Repose, or Remission of Fatigue: For no Man in his Food in Camp or City could follow his own Fancy, all faring alike in both. All were diligent and careful of the Publick, believing that they were not Born for themselves, but their Country. *Lycurgus* took a peculiar Care that they should have Leisure enough, prohibiting Vulgar Arts, and the Pursuit of useless Money. They look'd upon all

*The Pursuit of Money useless.*

all Artificers which got Money as ſervile and fooliſh: So that Money being baniſh'd *Sparta*, all Law-Suits immediately ceaſed, and Oppreſſion being no more, there being a perfect Equality on all Sides, and no Cauſe of Strife to diſturb the Tranquility of their Lives, All their Time in Peace was ſpent in Dancing, in Feſtivals, their Exerciſes and Hunting, or Reſorts of Publick Company, where they were entertain'd by the Praiſe of worthy Actions, the Diſpraiſe of Vices, and other valuable Diſcourſes. It was not lawful for any under Thirty to go into the Market, their Neceſſaries being ſupply'd by their Relations or Lovers. The Old Men frequented the Academies and Places of Reſort, where they talk'd not of *Cent. per Cent.* or any ſuch ignoble Subject, but always of ſomething worthy their Conſideration, extolling the Good, condemning the Bad; and that often in ſo pleaſing and facetious a Railery, as to penetrate the deeper, and fix the Correction the more ſenſibly. *Lycurgus* himſelf ſometimes remitted his Gravity, and ſacrificed to *Laughter*, to whom he erected an Image in his Houſe; enabling them the better to go thro' their hard Way of Living, by ſeaſoning it with Mirth. None could be elevated to the Senate till Sixty, and they were elected by the Number and Loudneſs of the Shouts People made as he paſs'd on, by Lot or Order, thoſe who ſet that down being lock'd up, and knowing not to which of the Candidates the Shouts belong'd.

*Lycurgus* order'd the Dead to be bury'd in the City about the Temples, and only in a red Woollen Winding-Sheet, and crown'd, if they pleaſe, with Olive-Leaves. None had their Names inſcrib'd on their Tombs, but thoſe ſlain in the Wars, or Religious Women. They were to mourn but Eleven Days, and on the Twelfth to ſacrifice to *Proſerpina*. *Lacedemon* indeed was like a large Book, containing in every Leaf valuable Rules and Examples, obvious in all Perſons and every Place, which cou'd not but force an Imitation. He forbid Travelling into Foreign Countries, leſt their Vices and Follies ſhould be introduced into *Sparta*; for the ſame Reaſon admitting few Strangers to come or reſide there, affirming that Cities have more need of being purg'd of evil Manners, than Bodies of noxious Humours.

*Lycurgus* having thus accompliſh'd his Deſigns, he was full of Satisfaction at his Succeſs, but could not reſt till he had, as far as Humane Forecaſt cou'd, made 'em Immortal. To this End he ſummon'd an Extraordinary Aſſembly of the People, and thus addreſſes himſelf to them, 'That 'all Things were hitherto order'd for the Publick Good,

'and the Happineſs of Particulars; but that the moſt im-
'portant Thing remain'd yet to be done, which he cou'd
'not reveal without conſulting the Oracle of *Apollo*;
'that therefore he deſired his Laws might be obſerv'd till
'his Return, without the leaſt Alteration; but then he
'would do as the God ſhould direct. The whole People declared their Aſſent, and took an Oath of an inviolable Obſervation of his Ordinances during his Abſence. Then ſetting Sail for *Delphos*, enquired of the Oracle, *Whether the Oracle approv'd his Laws?* The Anſwer was, *That his Laws were Excellent, and that the People who obſerv'd them ſhould live in Glory and Happineſs.* *Lycurgus* taking this in Writing, he ſent it to *Sparta*; and having ſacrificed again to *Apollo*, and taken Leave of his Friends and Son, he reſolv'd to periſh in the Voyage, that ſo the *Lacedemonians* might never be releas'd of their Oath: To this End he took to a total Abſtinence from Meat.

Thus this City, by the Obſervation of the Laws of *Lycurgus*, was the chief City of *Greece* for Five Hundred Years, which were in ſuch an Eſteem ever after, that not one King of Fourteen, from him to *Agis*, the Son of *Archidamas*, durſt ever attempt any Alteration in one Tittle of them. The *Spartans* Built a Temple to him, and inſtituted Annual Feſtivals. 'Tis ſaid that his Bones were conſum'd with Lightning when they were brought home to *Sparta*. Others tell us that he died in the City of *Cerrha*, and others in *Crete*, and commanded his Body to be burnt, and his Aſhes to be thrown into the Sea, leſt being carry'd to *Sparta* his People ſhould ſuppoſe themſelves abſolv'd from their Oaths.

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# The LIFE of *NUMA POMPILIUS.*

*NUMA POMPILIUS* was the Youngeſt of the Four Sons of *Pomponius*, a Nobleman in a City of the *Sabines*, call'd *Cures*, and was Born on the very Day of the Foundation of *Rome*. Being furniſh'd with a Soul, and Temper gentle, and form'd by Nature to Virtue, and admirably improv'd by Learning, Patience and Philoſophy, by which he

he regulated the guilty Paſſions of the Mind, and render'd Oppreſſion and Violence baſe even to thoſe who look'd on it before with Eſteem; plainly proving, that the only Fortitude was in ſubduing the Affections, and reducing them to Reaſon. Baniſhing Luxury therefore, and Effeminacy from his Family, amuſing himſelf with no Delights, or uſeleſs Acquiſitions, he apply'd himſelf to the Worſhip of the Gods, and with Aſſiduity to the internal Contemplation of their Divine Power and Nature. But beſides that Name and Glory which he had gain'd himſelf, *Tatius*, the Partner of *Romulus* in the *Roman* Government, gave him his only Daughter *Tatia* in Marriage. But *Numa* not at all puff'd up with this Match, choſe rather to cheriſh his own Old Father among his *Sabines*, than to live in the Pomp and Grandeur of his Father-in-Law's Court at *Rome*. *Tatia*, pleas'd with her Husband's Retreat, liv'd happily Thirteen Years, and then died. After her Death, *Numa* quitting the Converſation of the City, retir'd to a Country Life, in the Fields and Groves conſecrated to the Gods: Whence aroſe the Opinion of his Familiarity with the Goddeſs *Egeria*: From his Correſpondence with whom he was thought to have obtain'd the greateſt Happineſs, and the clear Knowledge of Divine Sciences.

Tatia, *the Wife of* Numa.

*The Nymph* Egeria.

Thus qualified, and in this Eſtate in the Fortieth Year of his Age, the *Sabines* and *Romans*, on the Death of *Romulus*, diſagreeing out of which Nation his Succeſſor ſhou'd be choſen, their mutual Choice and Approbation fell on *Numa Pompilius*; and they ſend, by a common Conſent, a Man of the firſt Figure of each Party to offer him the Crown, and invite him to *Rome*; *Proculus* from the *Romans*, and *Valeſus* from the *Sabines*. They found it not ſo eaſie a Matter as they expected to perſwade him to accept of their Empire; for he had no Need or Deſire of Riches, as being ſatisfied with a Little, and leſs Ambitious of Fame, being in Poſſeſſion of one more valuable ariſing from his own Vertues; but vanquiſh'd at length by Auſpicious Omens from the Gods, the Importunity of the Ambaſſadors, and the Perſwaſions of his Father, and *Martius* his Kinſman, and even of his own Citizens, he yielded to go to *Rome*, and accept of that Crown. Being receiv'd with Univerſal Applauſe, but refus'd the *Regalia* offer'd him till his Election, was confirm'd by the Gods. Thus aſcending the *Tarpeian* Hill with the *Augurs*, and there having a proſperous Augury, he put on the Royal Robes, and deſcended into the *Forum* amidſt the Acclamations of

*The Age of* Numa *when offer'd the Crown of* Rome.

his People, as a King the peculiar Favourite of the Gods.

*The Celeres disbanded.*

The first Act of his Government was to disband the *Celeres*, or Lifeguard of *Romulus*. He next added to the Two Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars* a Third, in Honour of *Romulus*, which he therefore called *Quirinalis*. Having by these Popular Establishments gain'd the Hearts of the People, he apply'd his whole Mind with the utmost Caution and Judgment, to render a City, so warlike, and proud of so many and great Victories, more gentle and just, and to compose it in Peace and Tranquility. He made frequent Sacrifices, Supplications, and Religious Dances; intermixing Plays and other Exercises and Pleasures, mollifying by degrees the Fierceness of their Minds, and lessening their Propensity to War. And to strike them with the Fear of the Gods, he made them believe strange Apparitions, Visions and Voices; by these he insinuated into them by degrees a Sense of Religion.

From these Things he got a great Name of Wisdom and Learning, as that he had been instructed in the *Pythagoric* Doctrines, *Pythagoras* agreeing with *Numa* in laying the Foundation of his Building in Religion, and a Familiarity and Affinity with the Gods. For this Reason *Numa* affected to propagate the Belief of the Story of his Affair with a Mountain Nymph, and his Intimacy with the Muses, deriving most of his Revelations and Prophecies from them. He particularly directed the Devotion of the *Romans* to one call'd *Tacita*, aiming perhaps in that at the *Pythagoric* Silence. With *Pythagoras* he deny'd the Representation of the first Principle of Being in Images; nor had the *Romans* any for 160 Years. His Sacrifices bore likewise a great Likeness to those of *Pythagoras*, unbloody all, and consisting of Wheat, Flour and Thyme, and such Things of small Value. Hence arose the Opinion of *Numa*'s Acquaintance with *Pythagoras*. To *Numa* they give the Institution of the *Pontifices*, or High-Priests, the Supream Regulator of the Devotion of Particulars, as to their Offerings and Interpretation of Prophecy, Regulator of Publick Ceremonies, and the Guardianship of the *Vestal Virgins*, keeping a perpetual Fire, which if any Accident should extinguish, it was to be lighted by the pure Rays of the Sun. The first of these Virgins were *Gegania* and *Verenia*, who were succeeded by *Cameleia* and *Tarpeia*. They were obliged to true Virginity for Thirty Years. They were Novices the first Ten Years, and learn'd what they were to do, and took the Function of Priestess, which they exercised for the next Ten Years, and the last Ten was

*The Institution of the Vestal Virgins.*

spent

ſpent in teaching others what they had learn'd and practiſed; after which they might Marry if they pleas'd: But that being generally unfortunate, they moſtly continue ſingle till their Death. As their Condition was hard, ſo were their Privileges great; for they cou'd make a Will in the Life of their Parents, and adminiſter their own Affairs without a Guardian; which Privilege the Mothers of thoſe Children likewiſe enjoy'd. The *Faſces* always preceded them when they went out; and if Chance brought them on any Malefactor going to Execution, it was an immediate Pardon on the Oath of the Virgin, that ſhe came by pure Chance. 'Twas certain Death to preſs on her Litter; and if any one of them ever parted with her Virginity ſhe was buried alive. 'Tis ſaid that *Numa* Built a Temple to *Veſta*, in which the Sacred Fire was to be kept, round in Form, in Imitation of the Earth, or rather of the World, in the Midſt or Centre of which the *Pythagoreans* place the Seat of *Fire*.

*Numa* alſo taught the Pontifices the Rules and Regulation of Funeral Ceremonies. He ordain'd, that a Child under Three Years Old ſhou'd not be mourn'd, nor paſt it above as many Months as it had liv'd Years, not exceeding Ten, which was the utmoſt Time of Mourning for any one, of what Age or Degree ſoever. This was alſo the Term of Widowhood; but if any Woman Married before the Expiration of Ten Months, ſhe was obliged to expiate the Crime by offering a Cow with Calf. He inſtituted likewiſe the Two Orders of Prieſts, call'd *Feciales* and *Salii*. The *Feciales* ſeem to be the Conſervators of Peace, and Diſpenſers of War, ſince they will not admit of War till all Hopes of Accommodation were gone. For they went to thoſe who did the Injury, and pray'd them to deſiſt from it, and make Reſtitution; but if they wou'd not hearken to their Admonition, they then, imprecating them and their Country, denounc'd War. Without their Conſent it was not lawful neither for the King nor the People to take Arms. *The* Feciales.

The *Salian* Prieſts had the Charge of the Eleven Targets made by *Veturius Mamurius*, with the Brazen Original which fell from Heaven into the Hands of *Numa* on the Raging of a Cruel Peſtilence. In the Month of *March* they carry theſe Sacred Targets through the City, habited in a ſhort Red Caſſock, a Belt with ſmall Buckles, and a Helmet of Copper, they as it were danced with a regular Meaſure through the Streets, beating the Braſs Targets with little ſhort Swords, *The* Salii.

Numa's Devotion.

*Numa* having inſtituted theſe Orders of Prieſthood, he Built his Palace cloſe by the Temple of *Veſta*, in which he ſpent moſt of his Time in preſcribing Rules for Divine Service, in inſtructing the Prieſts, or in Study and Application to Divine Speculations. He Built another Houſe on the *Quirinal* Mount. On all Feſtivals and Solemnities the People were forbid all manner of Work, to attend with Devotion the Holy Proceſſion or Office. The *Pythagoreans* held it not ſufficient to reverence the Gods as their Worſhip chanced to fall in their Way, but obliged his Diſciples to quit their Houſes, and with all their Heart and Soul to ſeek the Proceſſions, and there to adore the Deity in Purity and Zeal of Heart. Thus *Numa* allow'd of no Supinity or Negligence in Religious Duty; but wou'd have all other Affairs laid aſide, and the Mind wholly intent on Prayer and Devotion. He inſtituted many other Things which have a great Similitude to *Pythagoras*, as theſe obſcure Sentences, *Thou ſhalt not ſacrifice to the Gods an Offering of the Wine of a Vine never prun'd. There ſhall be no Sacrifices without Meal. Uſe a Circular Motion in Adoration, then ſit down.*

With Ordinances of this Nature *Numa*, by degrees, tam'd and reduc'd the City to a Reliſh of Peace and Quiet; ſo that he was held in ſuch Eſteem and Veneration, that whatever he did or ſaid was thought to contain ſome Myſtery, or peculiar Reaſon. This they report, that before Mount *Aventine* was Built, that *Picus* and *Faunus* commonly frequented the Fountains and Groves of that Place; and that they were ſeiz'd by *Numa*, by putting Wine and Honey into the Waters, which they drank; who finding themſelves caught, endeavour'd to get looſe, by changing themſelves into various monſtrous and dreadful Shapes; but all proving ineffectual, beſides many Predictions, they furniſh'd *Numa* with a Charm againſt Thunder. Others ſay this Charm was compell'd from *Jupiter* by Magick Charms, when the God in Anger anſwer'd, That if he wou'd charm the Thunder, he muſt do it with *Heads*. With Heads of Oinions, ſaid *Numa?* No, with Heads of Men, reply'd *Jupiter*. The Hair of Mens Heads (ſaid *Numa*, endeavouring to ſoften the Cruelty.) No, reply'd *Jupiter*, the Heads of living Men. *Numa*, taught by *Egeria*, ſaid, as by Miſtake, the Bones of the Fiſh *Mæna*; which compleating the Charm, *Jupiter* pacify'd, vaniſh'd away to Heaven. Theſe Things carry too fabulous an Air to build on, but *Numa* ſeems to put his whole Truſt and Confidence in the Gods; ſo that when he was told of the Approach of the Enemies, he anſwer'd, *But I am ſacrifi-*

Picus *and* Faunus.

*cing.*

*cing.* He first Built the Temples of *Faith* and *Terminus*; the first he made the Greatest and most Solemn Oath; and *Terminus*, the Lover of Peace and Justice, guarded the Bounds of Lands, and e'en of the *Roman* Jurisdiction fix'd by *Numa*. *The Temples of Faith and Terminus.*

To encourage Husbandry, which rather promotes Civility and a peaceable Temper than Wealth, he parcell'd out the Lands, each of which he call'd *Pagus:* By his daily Presence he stirr'd up the Diligent, and corrected the Slothful or Negligent in their Work.

There was nothing more worthy Admiration than his Division of the Citizens into Companies; for, observing that Factions and Seditions every Day encreas'd from his Peoples being of Two Tribes, he made it his utmost Endeavour to unite them into one, the more firmly, by subdividing them into many smaller Models, to extinguish the Distinction between the *Romulists* and *Tatianists*. He distinguish'd the whole City by their Arts and Professions, making Companies of Musicians, Goldsmiths, Masons, Taylors, Dyers, Skinners, Brasiers and Potters, and all the other Artificers were made of one Company, each having his Privileges, Halls, Courts, *&c.* by Charter from him. He merits likewise much Praise for Repealing the Law which empower'd the Father to Sell his Children. *The Distinction of the Citizens.*

He show'd by the Regulation of the Year that he was not altogether unskill'd in the Cœlestial Motions, reducing the Irregularity of the Months in the Time of *Romulus* to a more regular Form. He observ'd that the Moon compleated her Annual Course in 354 Days, but the Sun his not under 365. To remedy this Inequality, doubling the Eleven Days once in Two Years, added them to *February*. He further changed the Order of the Months, putting *March* in the third place, which was first, and *February* in the second, which was last; nay, it is said he added the Months of *January* and *February*. *The Regulation of the Year and Months.*

*Numa* had so quieted the Warlike Spirits of the *Romans*, that in all his Reign of Forty-three Years the Gates of *Janus* were not open. But not only the *Romans* composed themselves in Justice, Mansuetude, and the King's Religion, but all the adjacent Country receiving the same friendly Air, employ'd themselves in Manuring their Lands, the Education of their Children, and the Worship of the Gods, in Peace and Tranquility. And from *Numa*, as from a Fountain, spread round the Spirit of Love and Charity to all *Italy* during his Reign. And that which was most surprizing was, that in the State there was never any one Tumult, Sedition or Murmuring

ing againſt him, nor any Nation, through either Envy or Pride, confederated or ſtirr'd up Wars Abroad againſt his City. His Mildneſs and Equity were ſo conſpicuous, not only to his own People, but to all others with whom he had any Affair, that it is no Wonder that he was prais'd and lov'd by all *Italy*.

The Number of his Wives and Children is not agreed on by the Writers. Some ſay *Tatia* was his only Wife, and *Pompilia* his only Daughter. Others gave him Four Sons, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, the Heads of the *Pomponi*, *Pinari*, *Calpurii* and *Mamerci*. Others denying this as Flattery to thoſe Families, make *Pompilia* his Daughter by *Lucretia*, Marry'd after he was King. But all agree that this Daughter was Marry'd to *Martius*, the Son of that *Martius*, who with his Father perſwaded him to accept the *Roman* Crown; and by him had *Aucus Martius*, after *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of *Rome*.

Numa's Death. He was ſomething above Eighty when he died of a lingring Diſtemper, much to the Regret of all his People, Allies and Neighbouring Nations, who all flock'd together to honour his Funeral. They burnt not his Corps by his own Command, but having Two Stone-Coffins made, he order'd his Body to be repoſited in one, and his Sacred Books and Writings in the other, and to be bury'd under the Hill *Janiculum*.

## *The Compariſon of* Lycurgus *and* Numa.

Having thus given you the Lives of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, let us examine in what they agreed and differ'd, They perfectly agreed in their Continence, Temperance, Piety, Civil Arts and Polity, and in deriving their Laws from the Revelation or Approbation of ſome Divine Power. *Numa* Unſeeking, and a Stranger, was prevail'd on to accept of a Crown. *Lycurgus* in Poſſeſſion of a Crown, reſign'd it. This drew *Sparta* from Vices, and *Rome* from its Eagerneſs to War. *Lycurgus* diſarm'd not his People, but taught them to deſpiſe Gold and Silver, Magnificent and Luxurious Feaſts. *Numa* prohibited not Wealth and Ornaments, though he turn'd their Minds from War to Religion. This prevail'd, and moulded the People by gentle Argument and Affability to whatever he pleaſed; the other ſcarce obtain'd his Ends by the Hazard of his Perſon. *Numa* was much the more prudent and gentle Lawgiver allowing the Slaves, during the *Saturnalia*, to ſit at Table, and eat on an equal Foot with

their

their Maſters; but *Lycurgus* his Severity againſt the *Ilotes* was not free from Cruelty. *Lycurgus* had the greateſt Regard to Fortitude, *Numa* to Juſtice, to which was owing the Diviſion of the People into Companies: Whereas *Lycurgus* more ſeverely confined all Artifices to the Slaves or Strangers, but his Citizens to be the Miniſters of *Mars*. *Numa*, while he curb'd the Fiery and Warlike Spirit of the *Romans*, allow'd them to get what Riches they could. *Lycurgus* directed his Severity againſt our immoderate Appetites, as if he deſign'd to extirpate the very Seed and Fountain of Vice. One Built his State in Equality, which was denied the other by the late Diviſion of Lands by Lot. The *Spartan*, to remove *Jealouſie*, allow'd the Communication of Wives; the *Roman* diſſolv'd the Matrimonial Right before they cou'd be communicated. This took particular Care of the Modeſty of Maids, the other permitted the Maids of *Lacedæmon* to go with their ſhort Veſts, ſlit ſo as to ſhow their naked Thighs. *Lycurgus* wou'd have the Bride full ripe; *Numa* allow'd Marriage when ſhe was Twelve Years Old. That was more adapted to the Procreation of Children, this to the Reforming the Manners. *Lycurgus* far excell'd all Lawgivers in the Education of Children, publick and common Repaſts, publick Schools and Studies, whoſe Laws remain'd in Force more than Five Hundred Years after him; but all the principal Inſtitutions of *Numa* vaniſh'd in his Death; the Neglect of which raiſed *Rome* to its Grandeur; the Neglect of thoſe of *Lycurgus* brought *Lacedemon* to ſpeedy Ruin. That which ſeems greateſt in *Numa* is, that *Numa* being from a Stranger elected King, govern'd and brought all theſe Changes about without the leaſt Mutiny or Diſturbance: But *Lycurgus*, to pacifie and keep the Nobles quiet, was fain to make uſe of Juſtice, and his utmoſt Cunning and Addreſs.

The

# The LIFE of SOLON.

Solon's *Parents.*

EXeſtides, of the Race of *Codrus*, was the Father of *Solon*, and therefore he was Second to none in Family. His Mother was the Couſin of the Mother of *Piſiſtratus*. This Relation, and perhaps his Beauty, made *Solon* ever have a peculiar Love for the Tyrant, though differing in Politicks. His Father, by his generous Love to others, having ruin'd his Eſtate, *Solon* turn'd Merchant, though many contend that his Voyages were more in Chace of Knowledge than Riches. There is no doubt of his Wiſdom, when he uſed to ſay, *He grew old in learning ſomething every Day.* He ſaid alſo, *That he deſired Riches, but not to get them by Injury, becauſe the Crime is follw'd by the Puniſhment.* He deny'd it to be the Quality of a Great Man *to be ſollicitous about Superfluities, or to fear Neceſſity.* The Softneſs and Luxury of *Solon*'s Manner of Living, his Diſcourſes of Pleaſures in his Poems, too looſe for a Philoſopher, was the Effect of his Trading, in which having ſuffer'd a Thouſand Dangers, they deſerv'd to be recompenced by pleaſing Enjoyments. He ſeem'd to think himſelf rather Poor than Rich, when he ſaid, *The Wicked are Rich, the Honeſt are Poor, yet will I not alter my Mind for the Sake of Riches. Theſe are inſtable, but Vertue eminent and eternal.* His Poems at firſt were full of Trifling Jeſts, but afterwards enobled with Moral and Political Sentences; ſo that ſome are of Opinion that he deſign'd to write his Laws in Verſe, which began thus,

Jove's *Bleſſing on our Laws we humbly pray,*
*Let him give Fortune, and Succeſs, and Praiſe.*

Of all Moral Philoſophy he cheifly eſteem'd Politicks, but was very illiterate in Phyſicks. When *Anachraſis* laugh'd at his Writing of Laws, ſaying, That the unruly Deſires of Men are not to be reſtrain'd by Laws, through which, like the Spider's Web, the Rich and Strong wou'd make way, and the Weak and Poor only be caught; he reply'd, That he ſhould deliver ſuch Laws to his Citizens, that they

they ſhou'd know it more for their Advantage to obſerve than break them: But their Fate was not what he ſuppoſed, but what *Anachraſis* foretold. *Solon* expreſs'd a great deal of Surprize at his Arrival at *Miletum* to find *Thales* without either Wife or Children, and asking the Cauſe of it, *Thales* gave no Reply; but a few Days after made a Stranger pretend to come from *Athens*, and by degrees inſinuate to *Solon* that his Son was dead, which producing an extravagant Paſſion of Grief, *Thales* pacified it, by telling him, that this was the Reaſon he would have no Wife nor Children, which cauſed Emotions his Courage and Virtue cou'd not overcome; but bid him calm his Paſſion, for the Story was a Fiction.

It was made a Capital Offence at *Athens* for any one to move for the Recovery of *Salamis*, that War had been ſo Expenſive and Bloody to them: *Solon* finding many of his Mind, only fearing to ſpeak firſt, counterfeited himſelf Mad, and ſpread that Notion about, when having got an Elegy by heart, running from his Houſe to the Market-place, all dawb'd over with Dirt, and a Cap on his Head, the Multitude about him, getting upon the Crier's Standing, he ſung the Elegy, which begins thus: *Solon pretends to be Mad.*

*Leaving Fair* Salamis, *to you I ſail,*
*And in melodious Numbers tell my Tale.*

The Song being done, (which perſwaded to War) with the Applauſe of all, by the Perſwaſion of *Piſiſtratus*, and his Friends, the People abrogated the Law. The Conduct of the War being committed to *Solon*, the *Athenians*, by his Stratagem, gain'd the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland. This Action, and vindicating the *Athenian* Right to the Iſle before the *Spartan* Umpires, got him great Authority and Fame; though it was much encreas'd by his prevailing with the *Greeks* to revenge the Sacrilege of the *Cirrheans*, in violating the Temple of *Delphos*; for on his Perſwaſion the *Amphyctions* undertook the War. The Remains of *Cylon*'s Faction continuing, by his Perſwaſion they ſubmit to be try'd by Three Hundred Noble *Athenians*, by whom condemn'd, *Myron* being their Accuſer, they were baniſh'd, and the City expiated from *Cylon*'s, and other Crimes, by *Epimenides Phæſtius*.

*Popular Sedition.*

The Faction of *Cylon* and the Execrables being removed from the City, they fell out about Government: Thoſe that liv'd in the higher Quarter of the Town were for *Democracy*, thoſe in the lower for *Oligarchy*, and thoſe on the Sea for a mix'd Government. The Poor at the ſame time

time roſe againſt the Rich, which fill'd the City with Seditions aud Diſturbance; for all the People were in Debt to the Rich, either manuring their Grounds, and paying Six Parts of the Encreaſe, or engaged their Bodies to their Creditors, and made them liable to be ſeiz'd, made Slaves of at Home, and ſold to Strangers Abroad. Some were forced to Sell their Children, and run their Country; for nothing was more cruel than the Creditors. In this tumultuous State of Affairs any turbulent Perſon could prevail with the People to ſet up any Prince who ſhou'd juſtly and equally divide the Lands, and alter and change the Government into a more advantageous Condition. In the midſt of all theſe Diſtractions the Sum of Affairs were put into the Hands of *Solon*; they therefore apply themſelves to him, and deſire him to take the Government on him, and put an End to theſe Seditions. Many perſwaded him to take upon him the Tyranny; and moſt weighing the preſent Danger, were not averſe to have one good Man preſide over the whole; though by uſing the Saying, *That Equality bred no Wars*, he had pleaſed both the Rich and the Poor, one hoping Equality of Dignity and Commands, the other of Lands and Wealth; yet they cou'd not perſwade him to take upon him the Monarchy: He ſaid, *Tyranny was a very fair Spot of Ground, but it had no Outlet.*

The firſt Thing he ſettled was his Remitting the Peoples Debts, which he called *Seiſacthia*, or, The Throwing off the Burthen: Nor was it lawful ever after to engage the Body for Uſury. He encreaſed the Meaſures and Value of Money, making a Pound conſiſt of One Hundred Drachms, which before conſiſted only of Seventy-three. He glory'd that he had remov'd the Ties from their Eſtates; that he had made Slaves Freemen, and recall'd ſeveral to their Country that had fled from their Creditors Cruelty. Confiding in *Conon*, *Clinias* and *Hipponicus*, he told them he deſign'd not to meddle with the Diviſion of Lands, but only to remit the Peoples Debts, on which they took up much Money, and bought much Land, which they enjoy'd, though they never paid the Money to their Creditors, that, with the reſt, being forgiven by this Law. But to avoid being ſuſpected of their Guilt, he remitted Five Talents due to himſelf. But this Conduct pleaſed neither Rich nor Poor, the firſt being diſguſted that their Bonds were all Cancell'd, the latter that the Lands were not divided. But the People ſoon after being convinced of their Error, and the Benefit of his Decrees, made a Publick Thankſgiving, and gave into the Hands of *Solon* the

*The Peoples Temper.*

the Direction of the Commonwealth, and an abſolute Power of making and abrogating Laws, and of ordering their Magiſtracy, Aſſemblies, Senates, Courts, as to Number, Time of Meeting, Capacity of them, and their Duration.

*Draco's Laws regulated.*

Then he abrogated all the Laws of *Draco*, except that about Murder; he having made the moſt trifling Offences puniſhable by Death, as Idleneſs, the Stealing a Cabbage, or an Apple. He next apply'd himſelf to fixing the Order of the Government: The Magiſtracy he continued in the Hands of the Rich, but the People were admitted into the other Share. He therefore divided them according to their Abilities; thoſe who were worth Five Hundred Meaſures were in the firſt Rank, thoſe worth Three Hundred the Second, thoſe worth Two Hundred were the Third; all the reſt were not capable of Offices, only of coming into the Aſſembly, and giving their Votes; which Privilege ſeeming but little at firſt, afterwards was found very conſiderable. He endeavour'd to encreaſe the Honour of his Court by making his Laws ſomething obſcure, which naturally brought all Diſputes to the Judges, the Interpretors of them. For the Eaſe and Security of the Commons he made all Injuries Actionable. A Saying of his was agreeable to his Law; for being ask'd, What City was beſt modell'd? He reply'd, *That where thoſe who are not injured proſecute another's Injury as their own.*

*The Senate encreas'd.*

The *Areopagus* being conſtituted of the Yearly Magiſtrates, of which he was himſelf, as *Arcon*, a Member; and obſerving the People Haughty and Inſolent by their Freedom from their Debts, he ſettled another Court of Four Hundred, One Hundred out of each Tribe, who were to inſpect all Matters before they were to be propounded to the People.

*Laws of Matrimony.*

This alſo was an Admirable Law of *Solon*, in which he loſt all his Honour, who ſtood Neuter in Publick Diviſions of the Citizens: Yet that Law ſeems ridiculous, which permits an Heireſs to lye with her neareſt Kinſman if her Husband prove impotent. In all other Marriages he forbad Portions to be given; the Wife was to have Three Suits of Cloaths, and a little Houſhold-Stuff; for he wou'd not have that which was ordain'd for Procreation to be corrupted with the Deſire of Gain.

*Againſt ſpeaking Evil of the Dead or Living.*

That Law is very commendable, by which he forbids ſpeaking Evil of the Dead, or of the Living, in any Temple or Sacred Place, or Court of Judicature, or in the Preſence of the Magiſtrates, or in the publick Spectacles, under the Penalty of paying Three Drachma's to the injured Perſon,

and Two to the Publick. No leſs valuable is the Law about Wills; before which none could be made, but all came to the Family; but he permitted them, if they had no Children, to give their Eſtates and Money to whom they pleaſed. He brought to a Regulation the Walks, Feaſts and Mourning of Women: In their Walks Three Coats only were allow'd them, a Half-penny Meat and Drink, and a Basket not above a Cubit high; and at Night they were not to ſtir but in a Chariot, and with a Torch. He forbad the Mourners in Strangers Funerals to tear themſelves and howl to move Pity.

*Inſtitutes Trade.*

He brought his Citizens to apply themſelves to Trade, and made a Law, that no Son ſhould be obliged to relieve his Father, who had not brought him up to ſome Calling. And the Lands about *Athens* being ſcarce ſufficient for the Farmers, he made the *Areopagus* examine how every one liv'd, and puniſh the Idle. But ſome have thought that Law much more ſevere and rigid, that makes the Son of a Harlot not obliged to ſuſtain or relieve his indigent Father; ſince thoſe Copulations were for Pleaſure, not Procreation. Many of *Solon*'s Laws about Women are ridiculous, he making it lawful for any one to kill an Adulterer that found him in the Fact. The Forcing a Free Woman cauſed a Fine of an Hundred Drachma's; but if by Conſent he enjoy'd her it was Twenty. None could Sell a Daughter, or Siſter, unleſs ſhe had been wanton with a Man, without Marriage; ſo unequal was he in his Puniſhments of Crimes of this Nature. The Value of Sacrifices muſt be one Sheep, and a Buſhel, or Drachma. He ordain'd to an Actor in the *Iſthmian* Games an Hundred Drachma's to one in the *Olympian* Five Hundred. He that kill'd a Dog-Wolf was to have Five, and he that kill'd a Bitch, One, that being the Price of an Ox, this for Sheep, the *Athenians* of Old being great Enemies to Wolves, their Fields being better for Paſture than Corn. *Attica* being not very plentifully furniſhed with Water, he made a Law that all ſhould draw Water at the Well, that was within Four Furlongs; if none were ſo near, that they ſhould dig one; and if after digging Ten Fathom they found no Water, they might fetch Ten Gallons a Day from their Neighbours. None was to plant any Tree within Four Foot of his Neighbour's Ground, nor an Olive within Nine. He that wou'd dig a Pit or Ditch was to do it as far from his Neighbour's Ground as it was deep; and he that wou'd raiſe a Stock of Bees muſt do it within Three Hundeed Feet of thoſe already raiſed by another. He only permitted Oil to be exported, the Expor-

*Law about Baſtards.*

*Puniſhment of Venerial Crimes.*

*Solon's Law about Wells.*

*Laws of Planting.*

tation

tation of all other Products being forbidden under the Curſe of the *Achon*. He commanded the Maſter of any Dog that had bitten a Man to hang him up. He wou'd not admit any Foreigner to be made Free of *Athens*, unleſs he was baniſh'd his Country, or come with his whole Family to reſide and practice ſome Art in that City. He eſtabliſhed his Laws for One Hundred Years, and engraved them on Wooden Tables called *Axonas*; and obliged the Senators and People by an Oath to confirm and obſerve his Laws, and on the Breach of any of them to ſend to *Delphos* a Statue of Gold as big as himſelf. He fatther gave particular Rules about the Months, and the Irregularity of the Moons. Having done all theſe Things, to avoid the Impertinence of Queſtions about his Laws, and the Praiſe and Condemnation of them, he went to Travel.

*Arrives in Ægypt.*

He firſt arriv'd at *Ægypt*, and ſpent ſome time in the Study of Philoſophy with *Pſenophis* of *Heliopolis*, and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, Two of the moſt Eminent and Learned Prieſts.

Solon *in* Cyprus.

Paſſing thence into *Cyprus*, he is honourably receiv'd by *Philocyprus*, one of the *Cyprian* Kings, who was perſwaded by *Solon* to remove his City from the barren and craggy Soil where it ſtood, and build it in a pleaſant fertile Plain, and regulated it by his Laws, and in Honour of *Solon* called it *Solos*. Being ſent for by *Cræſus*, he diſcover'd no Surprize at the Court, and the Treaſures that were ſhow'd him by the King's Order; but when, full of Vanity, he ask'd, Whether he had ever ſeen one more happy than him? *Solon* reply'd, *Yes*, Tellus, *an* Athenian, *who died in the Defence of his Country, having honourably Bred up his Children, and ſpent his Life with Reputation.* Though this provok'd the King, he ask'd him, Whether he had ſeen any one elſe more happy? *Solon* reply'd, *Yes*, Cleobis *and* Bito, *Two Brothers, who loved one another perfectly well, and had the higheſt Duty for their Mother, who, the Oxen being jaded, put the Yoke upon themſelves, and drew her to the Temple of* Juno. *The Mother was extreamly pleaſed with the Action, and called Happy by all; and having done their Offering, and feaſted, there died on the Spot without Pain or Convulſion, after they had got ſo great a Reputation.* The King, more enraged by this, cry'd out, What then? Do you not allow me to be in the Number of the Happy? *O King,* (replied *Solon,*) *we* Grecians *knowing the Uncertainty of all theſe Things, and the perpetual Viciſſitude of Fortune, can put no Confidence in ſuch frail Goods; but he that arrives at an honourable Death, without being toſs'd and buffetted by Fortune, may well be called a Happy Man; ſo that I think no Man can be juſtly called Happy, but he that has exchanged a proſperous*

Tellus.

Solon's *Happy Man.*

*Life with an honourable Death.* Having more provok'd *Cræſus* with this, he departed.

But a little Time convinced *Cræſus* of the Truth of what he had heard from *Solon*; for his Country being vanquiſhed by *Cyrus*, and he condemn'd to be Burnt, and now on the Pile, cry'd out, *O Solon* Three times. *Cyrus* orders them to ask what God or Man that was whom only he invok'd in that Extremity? *Cræſus* repeated the whole Story, ſaying, 'He was one of the Wiſe Men of *Greece*, whom I 'ſent for to my Court, not for Inſtruction, but Oſten-'tation of my Power and imagined Happineſs, the Loſs 'of which is a greater Evil, than the Poſſeſſion was a Good: 'They were Goods in Opinion, but real Evils in their 'Loſs. *Solon* gueſſing at my preſent Calamity, bid me 'not truſt to Uncertainties, which, drunk with Proſperity 'and Power, I then deſpiſed; but which now, a miſerable 'Spectacle to all, I now in vain repent. When *Cyrus* was told this, touched with the Danger of *Cræſus*, grew more cautious, he immediately freed him from Puniſhment, and honour'd him as long as he liv'd. *Solon* thus had the Glory by one Saying, to inſtruct one King, and ſave another.

Creſus *calls on* Solon.

In the Abſence of *Solon Athens* again fell into Seditions: *Lycurgus* headed the lower Quarter, *Piſiſtratus* the upper Quarter, where was the greateſt Number of Poor, and Enemies to the Rich, and *Megacles*, thoſe that lived by the Sea. In the midſt of this Confuſion *Solon* returns Home, and unable to ſpeak in Publick, he endeavour'd to reconcile the Heads of the Factions. Though *Piſiſtratus* in Publick ſeem'd to comply with him, yet he ſecretly aſpired to a Change of Government, as was ſoon after evident from his Actions; for Age had rendred *Solon* more unfit for the Struggles of State, than to let him be very active in this Affair. *Piſiſtratus* therefore wounding himſelf, comes into the Market-place with loud Exclamations on his Enemies, to whoſe Charge he laid his Wound. The Dignity and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, and the Plauſibility of his Tongue, ſtirr'd up the Multitude to take Arms. In the midſt of this Tumult *Ariſton* moves, that *Piſiſtratus* ſhould be allow'd Fifty Men to guard his Perſon againſt his Adverſaries. The People not only allow'd that, but paſs'd a Law, which left him at Liberty to encreaſe the Number as he pleaſed; which being accompliſh'd, he ſoon ſeiz'd the Cittadel, and aſſum'd the Tyranny. The City all in a Tumult, *Megacles* and his whole Family fled away; but *Solon*, as much as his

Age

Age wou'd permit, by Speech and Writing oppoſed the Uſurpation: But unable to prevail, he came Home, and put his Arms out of his Door, ſaying, *I have to my Power aſſiſted my Country with Laws and Advice as long as I could, for the future I ſhall take my Reſt and Repoſe.*

Notwithſtanding all his open Zeal againſt *Piſiſtratus*, the Tyrant ſhew'd him all imaginable Reſpect, and often made uſe of his Advice: He not only obſerved moſt of *Solon*'s Laws, but obliged others to do the like; and in his Law that he made, That whoever was maim'd in his Country's Service ſhould be maintain'd by the Publick, he imitated *Solon*, and the Law againſt Idleneſs is attributed to him.

*Solon* having begun his *Atlantick Iſlands*, which he learned of the Wiſe Men of *Sais*, which he thought uſeful for the *Athenians* to know, diſcouraged by his Age and the Greatneſs of the Work, he gave it over. He lived not full Two Years after the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*, and died in extream Old Age. Tho' the Story that his Aſhes were ſcatter'd about the Iſle of *Salamis* be abſurd, and not to be believ'd, yet it is wrote by Great Men, among whom is *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher.

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# The LIFE of

# *Publius Valerius Poplicola.*

*POPLICOLA*'s Original Name was *Publius Valerius*, being deſcended from *Valerius*, one of the chief Reconcilers of the *Romans* and *Sabines*. While yet *Rome* was under the Kings, our *Valerius* was as Eminent for Riches as Eloquence. He was the Aſſociate of *Lucius Junius Brutus* in expelling the *Tarquins*; but his Merit could not make him Fellow-Conſul with *Brutus*, *Collatinus* carrying that Poſt; which made him retire from the Government, till by his voluntary proteſting in the *Forum* againſt any Aſſiſtance of the Tyrant, he removed that Suſpicion of his Sincerity to the Publick Cauſe: The Sincerity of which was ſoon made evident when Ambaſſadors arrived from *Tarquin* with Letters ſo popularily written, as to inſinuate

into the People, and with a Design to corrupt the Inclinations of many, *Valerius* opposed their being publickly read with the utmost Vehemence, tho' the Two Consuls *Brutus* and *Collatinus* had given their Consent. The Ambassadors returning again to demand the King's Goods, as the Terms of Peace; and having corrupted the Families of the *Aquilii* and *Vitellii*, found Means by the *Vitellii*, Relations of *Brutus*, to draw in *Titus* and *Tiberius*, his Sons, into a Conspiracy for the Restoration of the King. And when they made their Secret Rendezvous in an empty and retired House of the *Aquilians*, to bind each other by Oaths, there was a Servant of the Family, named *Vindicius*, that being surprized, there hid himself, and observ'd all they did and said, all their Contrivance of Murdering the Consuls, and the Manner of receiving the Tyrants into the City, and the Letters agreed to be sent to inform *Tarquin* of all their Resolutions. *Vindicius* having been an unexpected Witness of all this Transaction, the Conspirators being now gone, was in Suspence what to do: It was dangerous to suppress the Discovery of the Treason; nor could he think it Prudence to accuse the Sons to the Father, or Nephews to the Uncle; but confident of the Humanity of *Valerius*, he laid open the whole Affair to him: Which when *Valerius* had fully been inform'd of, gathering a great Number of his Clients and Friends together, he broke into the House of the *Aquilians*, and intercepts the Letters left in the Ambassador's Lodgings. But the *Aquilii* taking the Alarm, came in a Body, and endeavour'd to recover their Letters: In the Fury both Parties got into the *Forum*, when *Marcus*, the Brother of *Valerius*, brings thither other Letters and Persons taken in the King's Palace.

*The* Vitellii *and* Aquilii

*Vindicius.*

But this Tumult being risen, the Consuls, *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, came out to appease the Disorder. *Vindicus*, the Evidence and Accuser, is produc'd; the Letters are read, which not one had Courage to contradict; most stood silently stupid at the Heinousness of the Villany, and others in hopes of flattering the Consul's propos'd Banishment. But *Brutus* calling each of his Sons by his Name, demanded the Reason why he did not Answer to the Accusation? But they continuing still silent, he order'd the Lictors to Scourge them first, and then Behead them before his Eyes, unmov'd with any Passion, but in a perfect Calm.

*The Severity of* Brutus *and his Sons.*

As soon as he had seen this Execution done on his Sons, he rose up, and leaving the rest to his Collegue, went out of the *Forum*, all the City being amaz'd, nay, astonish'd, at

what

what he had done, and the heavy and ſevere Juſtice his Sons had received from his Mouth. But the *Aquilians* taking Heart from the Abſence of one Conſul, and the Eaſineſs of the other, as being a Relation, had the Aſſurance of demanding, not only a farther Time of Anſwering the Charge, but of having their Slave *Vindicius* delivered into their Hands. To which, when *Collatinus* had given his Conſent, *Valerius* ſo effectually oppoſed, and reſiſted the Conſul's Folly, that he retained all till the Return of *Brutus*, who leaving it to the Publick Suffrage, all the Conſpirators were by that condemn'd to Death. But *Collatinus* finding that he was odious to the People, on Account of what he had done in this Affair, and for his Relation to the *Tarquins*, and for his very Sirname, Abdicating the Conſulſhip, departed the City. In his Room *Valerius* was choſen with Honour and Applauſe, who gave *Vindicius* his Freedom, and that of the City with Liberty of giving his Vote in what Tribe he pleas'd.

*The* Aquilii *condemn'd.*

Valerius *made Conſul.*

The Goods and Palace of the Tyrant being given up to the People, they ſoon levell'd it with the Ground, and Conſecrated the pleaſant Field that belong'd to the King to *Mars*, calling it *Campus Martius*, or the Field of *Mars*, the Corn, Trees, and other Products of it, being caſt into the River, Form'd the *Holy Iſland*.

*The* Campus Martius.

But *Tarquin* having now loſt all Hopes of being reſtor'd by clandeſtine Means, was favourably receiv'd by the *Tuſcans*, and furniſh'd with Force to Invade the *Roman* Territories. To oppoſe which, the Conſuls draw out the *Romans*, and the Battle juſt beginning, *Aruns*, the Son of *Tarquin*, and the Conſul *Brutus*, Spurring their Horſes with Rage equal to their mutual Hatred, fell each by the other's Weapon. This was the dreadful beginning of the Battle, nor was the end leſs bloody; but had been far more ſo, had not the Armies been parted by a ſudden and moſt violent Storm. The great Slaughter affected not only the Soldiers but the Conſul with a Deſpondence, till Night coming on, a Voice was heard from the Grove to the Camps, ſaying, *That the* Tuſcans *had loſt One Man more than the* Romans. This Voice reviv'd the latter, and put the former to Flight, about Five Thouſand of thoſe that were left, and the Plunder of the Camp, the *Romans* pick'd up: And Numbring the Dead, they found of the *Tuſcans* Eleven Thouſand Three Hundred, being exactly One Man more than they had loſt themſelves. *Valerius*, in his Triumph for this Victory, was the firſt that rode in a Chariot; nor did this Glory raiſe any Envy againſt him, Veneration and Admiration taking up every one's Heart. The

*The Death of* Brutus.

Valerius's *Triumph.*

Triumph over, he took a peculiar Care in the Magnificent Obſequies of his Collegue, and ſpoke a Funeral Oration in his Praiſe, whence that Cuſtom aroſe of having the moſt Eminent Men ſpeak the Praiſe of him who died valiantly in the Defence of his Country.

Yet *Valerius* cou'd not always eſcape the Malice of Envy, when they murmur'd that he neither regarded the Commonwealth, nor did the Duty of a Conſul, but rather ſeem'd to Emulate *Tarquin*, than *Brutus*, deſcending from his lofty Houſe, equal to the Palace of the Tyrant, in a more than Royal Pomp and Magnificence. For his Houſe ſtood in an Eminent Place, difficult of Acceſs, and overlooking the *Forum*, coming down from which with the Rods, and Axes, and Lictors, he made a Proceſſion of equal Majeſty with a King. Being by his Friends inform'd that the People were diſſatisfied with this, the following Night he took Care to level his Houſe with the Ground. But when the People, on the Return of Light, were troubl'd at his Loſs, while they admir'd his Generoſity, not willing to ſuffer the Conſul to be without a Houſe, a Lodger or Gueſt to others, they Built him another at the Common Charge, not much leſs Magnificent than his own.

*The People Build* Valerius *a Houſe at the Publick Charge.*

Deſiring to make himſelf and Government leſs terrible, and more familiar to the People, he parted the Rods and Axes, which he always on his Entrance of the *Forum*, or Publick Aſſembly, vail'd to the People, which is ſtill obſerv'd by the Conſuls. By theſe Conceſſions, and Humble Behaviour, he advanc'd his Power, winning the Hearts of the People to an entire Submiſſion, and that with Pleaſure to his Will. From hence he received the Name of *Poplicola*, which may be Interpreted *Belov'd of the People*, which Name he ever after preferr'd to the reſt, by which I ſhall call him for the future.

*He is nam'd* Poplicola.

He gave his Conſent to have a Collegue choſen; but firſt by his own Authority, to obviate the Envy and Malice of his Enemies, he made ſome wholeſome Conſtitutions. He firſt fill'd up the Vacancy in the Senate with One Hundred and Fifty-four, part of whom had been murder'd by the Tyrants, part kill'd in the Wars. He Firſt allow'd an Appeal for the Offenders from the Conſuls to the People. Secondly, He made it Death to aſſume any Magiſtracy without the Conſent of the People. His Third Law was in Favour of Poor Citizens, by taking off their Taxes. Fourthly, He laid the Fine of Ten Oxen, and Two Sheep, on whoever ſhould not be obedient to the Conſul. The

Uſe

Uſe of Money then was not ſo common in *Rome*, and therefore the Guilty were Fin'd in Cattle, the Price of a Sheep being Ten *Oboli*, and that of an Ox an Hundred. He alſo made it lawful for any one to kill him that aſpir'd to the Tyranny. He fix'd the Treaſury in the Temple of *Saturn*, and gave the People the Power of chuſing Two Queſtors, or Treaſurers; the Firſt of whom was *P. Veturius*, and *M. Minutius*, there being a vaſt Sum in the Treaſury. Having adjuſted all theſe Things, Aſſembling the People, he admitted *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, as his Colleague, and in reſpect of his Age, ſurrender'd to him the Rods and Axes, and the Precedence; but he dying in a few Days, *M. Horatius* ſucceeded in his Place.

Lucretius *choſen Conſul.*

*Poplicola* having agreed before to Conſecrate the Capitol Built by *Tarquin the Proud*, thoſe that envy'd his Glory perſwaded *Horatius* not to yield him that Honour. He therefore inſiſting on it, the Lots being caſt, the Conſecration fell to *Horatius*, and the Command of the Army to *Poplicola*.

*Tarquin* in the mean while flies to *Porſenna*, King of the *Cluſini*, and moſt Powerful Prince of *Italy* at that Time, and prevail'd with him to enter the *Roman* Dominions with his Army, *Rome* having refus'd to receive *Tarquin* as her King. The *Romans* making Head againſt him, were Repuls'd with that Fury, that the Enemy were very near entring the City with them. But *Poplicola* fighting bravely before the Gates, was deſperately Wounded, and carry'd from the Field. *Titus Lucretius* met with the ſame Fate, ſo that the *Romans* made to the City for their Safety, which had been taken by the *Tuſcans*, had not *Horatius Cocles* ſtopt their Paſſage onthe Wooden Bridge till it was cut down behind him, who leaping with his Armour into the River, he ſwam to his own Party, being Wounded in the Hip by a *Tuſcan* Spear. By the Perſwaſion of *Poplicola*, in Honour of him, and Memory of the Lameneſs got in this Action, a Statue of Braſs was ſet up in the Temple of *Valcan*; and his daily Domeſtick Proviſions ſupplied from the People, and as much Ground given him as a Plough could go round in a Day. The Siege continuing, the want of Neceſſaries daily encreaſed; and at the ſame Time another Army of the *Tuſcans* enter the *Roman* Confines. But *Poplicola* being the Third Time Conſul, getting together a Body of Men with Expedition and Secrecy, attacks *Porſenna*, now full of Aſſurance of being Maſter of the City, and puts his Army to Flight, killing and taking Five Thouſand of his Men.

*The War of* Porſenna.

*The Bravery of* Horatius Cocles.

Tho'

Tho' the Story of *Mutius* be variouſly related, yet I ſhall give it as moſt commonly received. He was a Young Man of a great deal of Virtue and Bravery, and entring the Enemies Camp in the *Tuſcan* Habit, with a Deſign to kill the King, and deliver his City; but by Miſtake killing another for *Porſenna*, and being taken in the Fact, he thruſt his Right Hand into the Fire prepar'd for a Sacrifice, and beheld the King with a ſteadfaſt and undaunted Countenance, who diſmiſs'd him, and return'd him his Sword; *Mutius* took it in his Left Hand, (and thence was call'd *Scævola*, or Left-handed,) and ſaid, *I have vanquiſh'd the Terrors of* Porſenna, *but am overcome by his Generoſity, Gratitude therefore obliges me to tell thee that I am but the firſt by Lot of Three Hundred that have vow'd by thy Death to remove this Siege. But he was not diſpleas'd that he had miſcarry'd, ſince his Goodneſs Merited more to be the Friend than Enemy of* Rome. To this *Porſenna* enclin'd, being mov'd by the Virtue and Courage of the *Romans*, and immediately enter'd on a Treaty. *Poplicola* more deſiring him as an Ally, than dreading him as a Foe, ſent Ten Young Noblemen, and Ten Noble Virgins, his own Daughter *Valeria* being among them, for Hoſtages during the Negotiation; but they under Pretence of waſhing themſelves, got down to the River, and ſwam over to the City; *Poplicola* diſapproving the Fact, leſt it ſhould ſeem a Treachery of the *Romans*, ſent them back Bound to *Porſenna*; who admiring the *Roman* Excellency, concluded a Peace and Friendſhip with them; and to ſhew his Bounty the more, he commanded his Soldiers to march away with nothing but their Arms, leaving his Tents, Baggage, Ammunition and Proviſion to the *Romans*, who in Memory of his Generoſity, ſet up a Brazen Statue to him near the Senate-Houſe.

*The Conſtancy of Mutius.*

*The Virgin Hoſtages.*

After this *Marcus*, the Brother of *Poplicola*, repuls'd the Invading *Sabines*, killing them Thirteen Thouſand Men with the Loſs of One. But *Poplicola* being now the Fourth Time Conſul, the *Latines* and *Sabines* threatned *Rome* with a Confederate War, which yet was delay'd by the Difference betwixt *Appius Claudius*, a Man of Power among them and the *Sabines*, who perſwaded by *Poplicola*, remov'd himſelf and Five Thouſand Families to *Rome*, where they were Honourably receiv'd, and *Claudius* made a Senator, and Land divided among them all. The *Sabines* were very much exaſperated at this Defection of *Claudius*, and came and ſet down at *Fidenæ* with a great Army, and laid an Ambuſh for the *Romans*; which *Poplicola* having Intelligence of by Deſerters, directed his Forces againſt, and ſurrounding

rounding them, put them to Flight, with great Slaughter, insomuch that few escaped but those who shelter'd themselves in *Fidenæ*.

But the *Romans*, Exalted with these great Victories, and Enrich'd with the Spoils, attributed that Success, which they were wont to do to some God, to the Conduct and Foresight of their Consul. *Poplicola* having now surrendred the Government to the succeeding Consuls, departed this Life. The People Decreed a Magnificent Funeral to him at the Publick Expence; the *Roman* Matrons Mourning his Death, as that of their Common Father, for a Year, he was Bury'd in the City near the *Velian* Way. *The Death of Poplicola.*

## *The Comparison of* Solon *and* Poplicola.

If we compare the Lives of *Solon* and *Poplicola*, that Saying of *Solon*'s, of *Tellus*, will much better fit *Poplicola*. For tho' *Tellus* was happy in his Death for his Country, and had Men of Honour to his Sons, yet the Virtue of his Life, or his Discharge of great Magistracies, we find never mention'd. But *Poplicola* was the most Eminent of the *Romans* for his Greatness of Virtue, as well as Power. *Tellus* was Slain by his Enemies, *Poplicula* slew his, and saw his Country Victorious by his Conduct. After his Death he was deplor'd, and desir'd by all his City, and mourn'd a whole Year by the Women as a Common Father, and his Descendants, for Six Hundred Years among the foremost Families of *Rome*. *Solon* desir'd Riches, but not by Injustice; *Poplicola* not only abstain'd from Injustice, but reliev'd the Poor with his Riches; so that allowing *Solon* the Prerogative of Wisdom, *Poplicola* must be granted the happy possessing to his Death what *Solon* desir'd as a Happiness. The former by his Modelling the Commonwealth, show'd the latter the Example, by stripping the Consulship of his Pride, to make it easie and agreeable to the People. The *Roman* seems to have taken some Hints from the *Grecian*; for as *Solon* Establish'd an Appeal to the Judges, *Poplicola* did the same to the People. The first Establish'd a *Senate*, the latter encreas'd one to almost double the Number, and fix'd a Punishment for those that affected the Tyranny. Yet we cannot find any thing in the Life of *Poplicola* to compare with *Solon*'s Refusal of the Tyranny, when offer'd by the People; yet the reducing that Tyrannical Government he found to more Moderation and Justice, raised *Poplicola* almost to an Equality of Praise.

The

The remitting of Debts was the Confirmation of the Liberty, which the Poor cou'd hope no Benefit from as long as they were obnoxious to others, and what is more Excellent, all this was done without any Tumult: *Solon*'s Power in the Commonwealth was the greater, who was Subject to none, while all obey'd him; and so by himself discharg'd the greatest Things in the Commonwealth. But the Death of *Poplicola* was the more happy, since *Solon* liv'd to see the Dissolution of his Laws, and the Slavery of his Country, *Poplicola* preserv'd his inviolable till the Civil Wars. He having made his Laws, went to *Travel*, this, by staying at Home, confirm'd his. *Solon* cou'd not hinder *Pisistratus* from seizing the Government, but *Poplicola* pull'd down a Tyranny many Years Establish'd. He was indeed Equal to *Solon* in Virtue, but far Superior in Fortune and Force. As to Martial Exploits, that of *Solon*'s against the *Megarenses* is doubtful, but *Poplicola* both in Fight and Conduct gain'd the Victory. One under a feign'd Madness sollicited the Decree against *Salamis*, the other without Dread rose against *Tarquin*; he first detected the Conspiracy, and punish'd the Traytors. Nor was he less able in Debates, by which he won *Porsenna*, a Prince Invincible and Terrible, to be a Friend and Ally of his City. *Solon* recover'd *Salamis* for the *Athenians*, *Poplicola* receded from part of the Lands the *Romans* were already possessed of; but we must judge of Actions by the Circumstances of the Time they are done in; and a wise Politician often forgives a Part to save the Whole.

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# The LIFE of *THEMISTOCLES*.

THE Parents of *Themistocles* were but obscure; his Father *Neocles* was an *Athenian* of no great Note, his Mother *Abrotonon* was a *Thracian*, from whom he deriv'd no Legitimate Birth; others call her *Euterpe* of *Halicarnassus* in *Caria*. He was from his Youth of an impetuous Nature, full of Spirit and Apprehension, having his Eye and Resolutions on some great Actions and Undertakings.

The

The Times of Recreation from his Studies he ſpent not in Boyiſh Play or Sports, but in compoſing of Orations in Defence or Accuſation of ſome of his Companions. His Maſter obſerving his Temper, is reported to have ſaid to him, Themiſtocles, *thou wilt certainly be a great Plague or Honour to thy Country.* He was always dull in learning the Politer Arts that cultivated his Manners and Behaviour, but quick in receiving all the Precepts of Policy and Prudence. This Ignorance in the Modiſh Studies being afterwards objected to him, he reply'd, *That truly he was ignorant of Singing to the Lute, and Playing on the Harp, but that he could make a poor obſcure City committed to his Charge Great and Glorious.* He was the Hearer of *Mneſiphiles* the *Phrearian*, a Profeſſor of Politicks, and of the Sect of *Solon.* The Reſolutions and Determinations of his Youth were often erroneous, and contradicted by himſelf for the worſe; and this he confeſs'd by ſaying often, *That ragged Colts make the beſt Horſes by good Managing.* 'Tis an erroneous Report of many, who make his Father diſinherit him for Profuſion, and his Mother break her Heart for his Lewdneſs; but this is calumny; his Father indeed endeavour'd to deter him from meddling with the Publick, by the Ingratitude of the People to thoſe that had ſerv'd them. But the Bent of *Themiſtocles*'s Soul was to be Maſter of Political Knowledge, Glory and Honour; his Eagerneſs to be at the Head of which, ſoon in his Youth raiſed him Enemies of the Chief of the City, as *Ariſtides* the Son of *Lyſimachus*, though the Riſe of the Enmity ſprung from a Rivalſhip in the Love of the Beauteous *Steſilaas* of *Teios.*

*The Genius of* Themiſtocles.

*Themiſtocles* was indeed ſuch a Zealot of Glory and Ambition, that the Trophies of *Miltiades* in the Battle of *Marathon* he own'd deprived him of his Nightly Repoſe. But contrary to the Opinion of others, declaring that Victory not to be the End of the War, but the Beginning of greater Miſchiefs, he with a wiſe Foreſight diſciplin'd the People continually, and perſuaded them to lay out the Product of their Silver Mines in Building of Ships for the War againſt the *Æginetes*, which us'd to be divided among the People; ſo that with this Money they Built One Hundred Three Rank'd Gallies, in which they afterwards fought the *Armada* of *Xerxes.* Thus by uſing the Young Men to perpetual Exerciſe, he made the *Athenians* Excellent Seamen; and of what Uſe that was afterwards to *Greece* was evident in the following *Perſian* War.

*His Zeal for Glory and Action.*

The Accuſations of *Themiſtocles* ſeem contradictory, telling us, that he us'd to Sell thoſe Proviſions that were preſented him for Money; and that he menac'd *Philides* the

Jockey

Jockey for refuſing him a Horſe which he begg'd of him. To draw Company, and make himſelf popular, they ſay he deſired *Epicles*, an excellent Lutiniſt, to practice at his Houſe: As another Argument of his Ambition, they give you his ſtriving to outdo *Cimon* in the Richneſs of his Tents and Equipage at the *Olympian Games*, to the Offence of the *Greeks*, he being an Upſtart of no large Fortune, *Cimon* a young Nobleman, Eminent for his Eſtate and Quality. He was however very much Belov'd by the Multitude, ſaluting every Citizen by his own Name; and his Judgment was always juſt between Man and Man. To *Simonides* the Poet, making an Unreaſonable Demand, he ſaid, *As you would be an ill Poet ſhould you go contrary to the true Rules and Meaſures of Poetry, ſo ſhould I be an ill Magiſtrate if for Favour I ſhould go contrary to Law.*

*Ariſtides Baniſh'd.*

When he was great and popular, he Baniſhed his Rival *Ariſtides* the City by publick Vote; he brought off *Epicydes* the Orator, who by his Tongue had engaged ſo many Votes as had like to have given him the Command in the *Perſian* War, though of Faint Heart and Avaricious Temper, and ſo ſav'd his Country. He likewiſe put the Interpreter, who denounced War in the *Perſian* King's Name, for employing the *Greek* Tongue at the Command of the *Barbarians*; nor was he leſs Noble for degrading *Arthimius* of *Zelea* and all his Children with Infamy for bringing Gold from the *Medes* to corrupt the *Grecians*: But what was more Glorious to him, on the breaking out of the *Perſian* War, he compos'd all the Differences of *Greece*, and joined them in a neceſſary Confederacy; and being choſe Commander of the *Athenians*, he perſuaded them to leave the City, and defend themſelves in their Ships, which they agreed to when the *Theſſalians*, and all as far as *Beotia* had ſubmitted to *Xerxes*. He ſubmitted to let *Eurybiades* be Admiral though his Due, and brought the *Athenians* to do ſo too, leſt the Conteſt ſhould be Fatal to *Greece*. He qualify'd the Fears of the Admiral *Eurybiades*, that the Armada of *Perſia* was Invincible, by the *Eubean* Money and his Perſuaſions: But when on the News of the Slaughter of *Leonidas* at the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, and that the *Perſian* was Maſter of all the Paſſes, they return'd to *Greece*, the *Athenians* bringing up the Rear; by Inſcription on the Harbours he excited the *Ionians* to throw off the *Perſian* Yoke.

*The Perſian War.*

*Xerxes* having paſs'd through *Doris*, and waſting the Country and Towns of *Phocis*, the other *Greeks* refuſing the *Athenians* Aſſiſtance, but retiring into *Peleponeſus*, *Themiſtocles* perſuaded the People to conſult the Oracle, and then

then interpreted their truſting to their Wooden Walls to be their Ships, and being ſatisfied of this Interpretation, they ſent away their Families to *Trœzena*, while all that were fit to bear Arms rendezvous'd at *Salamis*. Many Diſputes ariſing betwixt him, *Eurybiades*, and other *Grecian* Chiefs, he brought them all over to his Opinion of Fighting the Enemy in the Streights, not open Sea, partly by his Reaſons, but more effectually by this Stratagem; He ſends *Sicinus* to *Xerxes*, to inform him that all the *Grecians* were ready for Flight; and therefore adviſes them, while they were in this wavering Condition, and irreſolute what to do, to fall upon them. By this Means he hoped to bring the Enemy to an Engagement, where the ſuperiour Number of their Ships would be of little Benefit to them. This *Socinus* was a *Perſian* Born, Præceptor to the Children of *Themiſtocles*, and not unknown to the King; who taking all as the Information of a Friend, commanded his Ships to fall on, deſcending himſelf to the Coaſt to be a Spectator of the Fight. *Themiſtocles* exhorting and animating all to Fight, the Enemy comes on, the Battle is fierce, the *Perſians* fall on every Side, and truſt at laſt to Flight, and leave the *Grecian* Courage and *Themiſtocles* his Conduct ſuch a Victory that no Age has ſeen the like.

*A Stratagem to engage the Perſians to Fight in the Streights.*

But this ill Luck did not at all diſmay *Xerxes*; and *Themiſtocles* again conſider'd how he might once more impoſe upon that King; for being perſuaded by *Ariſtides* (to whom the common Dangers had reconcil'd him) from breaking the *Perſian* Bridges of Boats over the *Helleſpont*, he pitch'd on *Arnaſes*, a Captive Eunuch of *Xerxes*, and taking him aſide in the Street, bids him return to the King, and aſſure him that he was ſollicitous for his Safety, and therefore let him know that the *Grecians* were going to Sail up the *Helleſpont* to deſtroy the Bridges, and cut off his Retreat, and that therefore he ſhould make all imaginable haſte, and paſs it while he might. The King was ſtrangely alarm'd at this Deſign, with his Army made his way to the Bridges, and ſo poſted into *Perſia* with all ſpeed.

*The Flight of* Xerxes.

For theſe and his other great Services the *Lacedemonians* carrying him to *Sparta*, crown'd him with Olive as the Reward of his Prudence; coming to the *Olympic* Games, he was received with that Applauſe, that the Eyes of all were only on him, neglecting the Exerciſes; ſo that he ſaid, he had then received the Fruit of all his Pains and Fatigues in the Service of *Greece*. To make himſelf ſeem greater, he would purpoſely defer all Buſineſs to the Day of his Departure, that making the Conflux of People the larger,

to

to dispatch their several Affairs with him. He us'd to say, He had no Honour from the *Athenians* but when they were in Danger; but that over, they had no more Regard to him. One of *Seriphos* telling him he owed his Glory to the Advantage of so Illustrious a City as *Athens*, reply'd, *Had I been of* Seriphos *I should never have been less, and hadst thou been of* Athens *thou hadst never been greater.* He said, *That his Son was the most Powerful Man in* Greece, *for* Athens *Rul'd all* Greece, *he* Athens, *his Wife him, and her Son her, on whom she doted.* Loving Singularity in all he did, having Land to Sell, he ordered the Crier to give Notice that there were good Neighbours near it. He preferred the Virtuous to the Rich in those who pretended to his Daughter, saying, *That he had rather have a Man without Riches, than Riches without a Man.*

On the Retreat of the *Barbarians*, he design'd, and prepar'd to Wall the City of *Athens*; the *Spartans* hearing of it, complain'd of Breach of Treaty; but he giving Order that the Work should go on, goes to *Sparta* to answer the Accusation; being come, he denies the Matter of Fact, and says they are impos'd on by false Reports, and Desires some Men of Credit may be sent to clear him of the Imputation; and manages so, that those who were sent shou'd be kept as Hostages till he return'd, which being known, he is permitted to go Home in Safety. And afterwards observing the Opportuneness of the Place, he join'd the *Pyræun* to the City by a Wall, supposing that a great Naval Power wou'd give Life and Encouragement to a Popular Government.

After the Departure of *Xerxes* from *Greece*, and all things there being now Compos'd, and at Peace, the *Lacedemonians* expressed their Hatred to him, and set up *Cimon* as his Rival in the Love of the People. The Confederates likewise about this time discover'd their Envy, by Complaints of his having Extorted too much Money from the Islands, and *Timocreon*, the *Rhodian* Poet, made Invectives against him. The *Athenians* encouraging Complaints against him, at last Banish him by *Ostracism*; and after his Retreat to *Argos*, being intimate with *Pausanias*, on the Discovery of his Correspondence with the *Persians*, and Punishment, they Condemn'd *Themistocles* of Treason, which made him write to *Athens*, *That as he was always Ambitious to Govern, for that Reason he should never be willing to become a Slave, by selling all* Greece *to the* Persians.

*His Banishment.*

This

This wou'd not ſatisfie the People enrag'd by his Accuſers, who ſent out Officers to take him: To eſcape which, he firſt went to *Cercyra*, thence to *Admetus*, King of the *Moloſians*, and thence he ſail'd into *Aſia*, whither they tell you he carry'd One Hundred Talents, whereas he was not worth Three before; he was admitted to the Management of the Publick.

Being arrived at *Cyma*, he was informed many lay in wait for him, eſpecially *Ergoteles*, and *Pythodorus*, the Two Hundred Talents offered by the King of *Perſia* being Bribe enough to engage any Lover of Gain. He therefore ſecretly made his Way for *Æges*, where ſtaying a little while with *Nicogenes*, who only knew him, he convey'd him away in a cloſe Chariot, as if he were ſome Young *Grecian* Lady going to ſome Nobleman of *Ionia*; thence he proceeded to *Xerxes*, who receiv'd him with all Kindneſs and Humanity, on the Speech that *Themiſtocles* made to him; nay, he arriv'd to ſo great Intereſt with him, that if any one had a difficult Petition to make, *Themiſtocles* cou'd only obtain it. He reconcil'd *Demaratus* the *Spartan* to the King, who was in Diſgrace for his fooliſh Requeſt of Wearing the Royal Diadem and Royal Pomp for a Day. *Xerxes* gave him Three Cities, *Magnetia*, *Myus* and *Lampaſcus*, to provide him Bread, Meat and Wine; others add Two more, *Percotes* Cloaths, and *Paleſcopſis* Bedding and Houſe-Furniture.

*He is well received, and in great Favour at the* Perſian *Court.*

*Epixyes*, Governour of the Upper *Phrygia*, was very near Murthering him by a few of *Piſidian* Cut-throats. Uſing to ſleep in his Journey, one of the Sumpture Horſes having fal'n into a River, the Tapeſtry was hung up to dry; the *Piſidians* making towards them with their Swords drawn, deceived by the Moon-light, taking the Tapeſtry for his Tent, and lifting it up, were taken by thoſe, that watched it. After which he Built a Temple to the Mother of the Gods, who forwarned him of this Danger, and made his Daughter her Prieſteſs in *Magneſia*, where he lived in Security and Honour.

But the *Ægyptians*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, having revolted from *Perſia*; the King ſent to put him in mind of his Promiſe, and irritate him againſt the *Grecians*. But *Themiſtocles* having receiv'd this Meſſage, thought it more worthy his Honour and Glory to put an End to his Life than Invade his own Country. In his Sixty-fifth Year he took Poiſon, of which in the midſt of his Friends, having ſacrificed, he expired. But the King hearing the Cauſe of his Death, held him in greater Admiration than before, and was ever after a peculiar Friend

*The Death of* Themiſtocles.

and Patron of his Friends and Relations. There remains a Magnificent Monument Built to him at *Magnesia*.

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# The LIFE of *CAMILLUS*.

IT seems the greatest Wonder of the Life of *Furius Camillus*, that he never was once Consul, though his Great Actions did exalt him Five times to the Dictature, and to Four Triumphs, and was stiled a *Second Founder of the City*. By his own Vertue, when his House was not very Eminent, he raised himself to Honour and Glory, first under the Dictator *Posthumius Tibertus*, in the War against the *Æques* and *Volsces*, pulling out the Dart fix'd in his Thigh, and pressing on the Foe till he put 'em to Flight, for which he was made *Censor:* When finding that the Wars had made many Widows, he made the Single Men, by Perswasions, and Threats of Fines, to Marry them. He put an End to the Exemption of Orphans from Taxes, the Expences of the Wars requiring extraordinary Means. The Siege of *Veii* gave him the greatest Difficulty, the Seventh Year of which drawing near an End, the Commanders being suspected, *Camillus* was a Second Time chosen Tribune. Yet that Siege not falling to his Lot, he being sent with an Army against the Invading *Falisci*, and *Capenates*, reduc'd them with great Losses, and shut them up in their Walls.

*He is made Censor, and his Decree for the Widows.*

In the Tenth Year of the War, being made Dictator, and having beat the *Falisci* and *Capenates* in the Field, came to *Veij*, and finding there was scarce any taking of the Town, but by Mining secretly to enter it, the Mines being near ready, he alarm'd the Besieged by false Attacks, while those who went by the Mines enter'd the Castle, and issuing out with great Noise and Fury, put the Citizens in a Fright, and took the Town; which was not Inferior to *Rome* in Largeness, Magnificence, Wealth and People, and

*The Siege of Veij.*

and which had ſome Years contended with *Rome* for Empire and Glory.

*Camillus*, Exalted by this Victory, unpopularly had his Triumphal Chariot drawn by Four Milk-white Horſes, which is a Carriage appropriated to the King, and Father of the Gods. This, with his oppoſing the Law for dividing the *Romans*, one half for *Veij*, the other for *Rome*, he began to loſe the Love of the People. For the Tribunes of the People preferr'd a Law, that the Senate and Commons ſhou'd be equally divided, and one half ſhou'd go to the new-conquer'd City, the other remain in *Rome*. But this deſtructive Propoſition *Camillus* delay'd and interrupted, by buſying their Heads with ſome other Affairs. But the greateſt Cauſe of their Hatred ſprung from the Exaction of the Tenths of the Spoils. For he had vow'd, if he took the Town, the Tenths of the Spoils to *Juno*, of which Vow there was not a Word mentioned after the Sack of the City: His Magiſtracy therefore being laid down, he brought the Matter into the Senate. But this the People took more heinouſly than if they had been demanded on the Spot, when it was more feaſible to be done; but they were at laſt oblig'd to bring in each his Proportion. The Tribunes again reſuming the Law for dividing the City, the War with the *Faliſci* very opportunely broke out, and *Camillus* is with the Peoples Conſent choſen to Command the Expedition, leading his Army againſt *Falerij*, a well-fortify'd City, and plentifully ſtor'd with all Neceſſaries of War. While he drew out the Siege in Length, the School-maſter of the Children of the *Falerians* led them without the Walls, ſometimes to take a Walk, and the Air, but at laſt, in hopes of Ingratiating himſelf with *Camillus*, after he had many Days harden'd them from Fear of venturing from the Walls, by daily walking farther and farther, he at laſt led 'em into the Camp, telling *Camillus*, that with the Children he deliver'd him up the City: *Camillus* Contemning the Action, told him, *That e'en the Confuſion of War admitted ſome Sort of Law and Juſtice, and that a General ſhou'd by his own Virtue, not the Villany of others, become Great.* So commanding him to be Bound, and his Cloaths to be torn off, and giving every Boy a Rod, order'd them to whip him back again into the City. This Generous Action ſo won on the Heads of the *Falerians*, that they voluntarily Surrender'd to the *Romans*, calling *Camillus* not only their Saviour, but God, and their Father.

*The Exaction of the Tenths vow'd to Juno.*

*The Treachery of the School-maſter of the Falerij.*

But the Soldiers, who expected the Spoils of the City, on their Return rail'd at *Camillus* as an Enemy of the People; who resuming the Debate about the Law for the Division of the City, *Camillus* constrained the Multitude to dismiss the Law, contrary to their Inclinations. The People were extreamly exasperated against him, and while he griev'd at Home the Death of one of his Sons, he was accus'd of Fraud in the *Tuscan* Spoils, as having a Brazen Gate found in his Custody; and finding no Relief against the Accusation, going from the City with silent Grief and Resentment, he stretch'd out his Hands to the Capitol, and pray'd the Gods, that *If the Malice of the People, not his own proper Crime, had driven him into Banishment, the* Romans *might speedily repent of their Folly, by being reduc'd to a Necessity of wanting his Assistance.* Thus not appearing, he was Condemn'd in Fifteen Thousand Asses, which make One Thousand Five Hundred *Drachma's*.

*Camillus's Banishment*

It was not long e'er this Imprecation seem'd to take Effect, and the People earnestly wish'd for his Return. For the *Gauls* making an Irruption into *Italy*, and now Besieging *Clusium*, the *Clusians* sent to the *Romans* for Relief by their Letters and Ambassadors; who finding that *Brennus*, King of the *Gauls*, was not to be treated with, went into the Town, and perswading the *Clusians* to make a Salley, *Quintus Ambustus*, One of the Three Ambassadors, Spurs his Horse against a *Gaul*, of remarkable Bulk and Figure, and runs him through with his Spear. *Brennus* finding this, immediately quitted the Siege of *Clusium*, and March'd directly to *Rome*, pretending their Ambassadors, in fighting against him, had broke the inviolable Law of Nations. The *Romans*, with Men half Disciplin'd, and Raw, meet them at the River *Allia*, and are totally Defeated. So Pannick a Terror had possess'd the *Romans*, that many fled from the City, and those that remain'd retir'd to the Capitol, which they stor'd and fortify'd for a Siege.

*The* Gallick *War.*

Three Days after the Battle *Brennus* arrives at *Rome*, takes the unguarded City, destroying all with Fire and Sword, in Three Hundred and Fifteen Years after it was Built. The Slaughter began with M. *Papirius*, and the Senators, that sate in the *Forum* in Expectation of their Fate, and the *Gauls*. Having Demolish'd the City, and Pillag'd it, they lay close Siege to the Capitol, which obstinately defended itself, and annoy'd the Besiegers.

*Camillus* at this time was in Exile in *Ardea*, and liv'd a private and retir'd Life; but the Misery of his Country

*The Return of Camillus.*

rouz'd

rouz'd him to think how to bring it Relief, he ſtirr'd up the Young Men of *Ardea*, and prevail'd with the Magiſtrates to let him fall on the Common Enemy; ſo that in the midſt of the Night he aſſaults the *Gauls* Camp, when having been all Day Plundering the Country, they were diſſolv'd in Sleep and Wine; totally defeats and deſtroys all that Party, very few eſcaping to carry the News. The *Gauls* being in this Encounter deſtroy'd all the *Romans* that had eſcap'd the Battle of *Allia*, and the City preſs *Camillus* to command them; he refus'd the Command, unleſs thoſe who poſſeſs'd the Capitol ſent him their Orders. This Demand of the People and *Camillus*, and the Victory he had gain'd o'er the *Gauls*, were by the Bold Venture of *Pontius Cominius* carry'd to the Beſieged; who on this Intelligence calling a Council, declare *Camillus* the Second time *Dictator*. On *Pontius* his Return, and Declaration of the Senate's Choice of *Camillus*, everybody diſcover'd their Joy and Satisfaction. And *Camillus* coming to them, found them Twenty Thouſand, with whom, and a greater Number of Confederates which he brought with him, he prepar'd for aſſaulting the Enemy.

*Camillus declar'd the Second time Dictator.*

The *Gauls* in the mean while having found the Footſteps of *Pontius* up the Rock to the *Capitol*, a Party of them in the Night climb up the ſame Way, undiſcover'd by any one, till the Cackling of the Sacred Geeſe wak'd the Sentinels, and they alarm'd the Garriſon, who with *Manlius* at their Head, came to repulſe the Invaders, killing and tumbling them down the Precipice. But now, after the *Capitol* had endur'd a Siege of Seven Months, the equal Neceſſity of both Sides brought them to a Parley, and that to a Treaty, which was, that the *Romans* paying down a Thouſand Weight of Gold, *Brennus* and his *Gauls* ſhould immediately quit the City, and her Territories. The Gold therefore being now in the Scales, and the *Romans* diſputing with the inſulting *Barbarians*, *Camillus* arrives with his Army, and as *Dictator* breaks off the Agreement, and takes away the Gold, telling *Brennus*, who complained of the Injury, *That the* Romans *us'd to deliver their Country with* Iron, *not with* Gold. A preſent Tumult ariſes, but the *Gauls* fly the City, and Encamp on the *Gabinian* Way, Eight Miles from *Rome*; As ſoon as Day appear'd *Camillus* came up with him, and after a long and bloody Battle, totally defeats him, takes his Camp, and having thus recover'd his Country, enter'd *Rome* in Triumph, as he deſerv'd.

*A Treaty with the Gauls.*

*Camillus Triumphs o'er the Gauls.*

While the People were buſie in Rebuilding of the City, to which they were perſwaded by their Superſtition, at laſt, when the Senators and *Camillus* cou'd not prevail, they were at once Invaded by the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, *Latins* and *Tuſcans*, the former falling into their Territories, while the *Tuſcans* Beſiege *Sutrium*, a Confederate City of the *Romans*. *Camillus* being the Third time Choſen Dictator, makes haſte to the Relief of the Tribunes of the People, preſs'd hard by want of Proviſions, and the *Latins*. The *Latins* having fortify'd their Camp with ſtrong *Palizado's*, and Barricado's of Wood, *Camillus* taking the Opportunity of a ſtrong Wind conſtantly blowing from the Mountains at Sun-riſing, with Combuſtible Matter burning the Defence, takes the Camp, and Kills and makes Priſoners the Men. Thence paſſing with part of his Army into the Enemies Country, taking the City of the *Æqui*, and reducing the *Volſci* to Obedience, he marches to the Relief of *Sutrium*; in his March hearing the *Tuſcans* had taken it, he haſtens with all Diligence, and comes on them before he was heard of, finds the Gates Ungarded, the Soldiers Plundering and Raviſhing, and cuts them to Pieces, and reſtores the City to the Inhabitants he had met on the Road, driven thence with only their wearing Cloaths. Thus *Sutrium* was taken Twice in One Day; the Enemy being put to Flight and Conquered was the Cauſe of the Third Triumph of *Camillus*. And not long after, being by the Senate Elected Military Tribune, to check the Inſolence of *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, he took ſuch Meaſures for his Trial, by removing the Court from the Sight of the *Capitol*, that *Manlius* was Condemn'd, and receiv'd a Death worthy his Deſigns, being thrown from that *Capitol* he once ſo Bravely defended.

Sutrium *taken twice in One Day.*

Being now very Old and Infirm, he was much againſt his Will compell'd to accept the Military Tribuneſhip the Sixth Time, and immediately with his Collegue *Lucius* order'd to lead the Army againſt the *Præneſtini* and *Volſci*, now waſting the Country of the *Roman* Confederates. *Lucius* being Young, and deſirous of Action, leads out the Army to Battle, againſt the Perſwaſions of *Camillus*, who was not very well, but being beaten back, *Camillus* leaping from his Bed with the Retinue he had with him, makes to the Camp Gates, and ruſhes on the Purſuers, and turns the Runaways, ſo as to make a handſome Retreat to their Camp, and the next Day giving them *Battle*, he routed them, and enter'd and took their Camp with great Slaughter.

Then hearing that *Sutrium* was again taken by the *Tuſcans*, and all the *Romans* that dwelt there put to the Sword, ſending the heavy arm'd to *Rome*, he march'd on with the light arm'd, and falling on the Enemy, either Slew, or put them all to Flight, carrying great Spoils to *Rome*. On the Revolt of the *Tuſculani*, *Camillus* had the Charge of reducing them, taking with him *Lucius Furius*, that had been ſo unlucky againſt the *Volſci*. The *Tuſculanes* hearing that *Camillus* was coming againſt them, diſſembled their Revolt, and receiv'd him as in Peace; which not being ſufficient to Diſguiſe their Treaſon, yet enough to argue their Repentance, he was their Mediator that got their Offence remitted, and them admitted into the Freedom and Liberty of *Rome*.

*Lucius Stolo* at that time rais'd Differences betwixt the People and Senate, for which Reaſon *Camillus* was the Fourth Time made Dictator; but he finding it a difficult Matter to decide, he laid down the Office. In the midſt of theſe Diſputes the News of a Second *Gauliſh* Invaſion put an End to the Popular Sedition, and by the Univerſal Conſent of Senate and People he is again declar'd Dictator at near Foreſcore Years of Age; but touch'd with the preſent Danger of his Country, made no Excuſe, as formerly he had done. So arming his Men with Head-pieces and Breaſt-plates, he march'd to the River *Anio*, placing Soldiers in Ambuſh, daring the Enemy, compell'd them to Battle; but the *Barbarians*, unable to bear the ſhock of the *Romans*, gave Way, and being ſcatter'd about the Country, and the Pathleſs Places, were cut to Pieces, and being briven from the Field of Battle, loſt their Camp. Thus in Thirteen Years after the taking of the City, and the Irruption of the *Gauls*, *Camillus* by his Succeſs put an End to their Fear of the *Barbarians*, which was his laſt Military Action, the Surrender of the City of the *Veletrani* being in Conſequence of this Victory Surrender'd without Blows.

Camillus *the Fourth time Dictator.*

Theſe Foreign Wars being ended, Domeſtick Seditions Reviv'd, by which the People ſtrove to have one of the Conſuls choſe from out of the *Plebeians*, which *Camillus* and the Senate under his Authority and Conduct endeavour'd to oppoſe; inſomuch that the Lictors of the Tribunes laid Hands on him, but were repuls'd by his Attendants, and cou'd not compel him to lay down the Dictatorſhip; but Summoning the Senate, pray'd to the Gods that his Conduct might be for the Good of the City, promiſing if they wou'd put an End to the Sedition, to Build a Temple to *Concord*. So at laſt, after great Debates, it was

Decreed, that one of the Consuls shou'd be chose out of the *Plebeians*. The Dictator having let the People know this Decree, they were reconcil'd to the Senate, conducting *Camillus* Home to his House with great Applause and Acclamations, and the next Day Voted to Build the Temple of Concord, which *Camillus* had Vow'd. So that the Election of Consuls coming on, *Lucius Sextius* was the first *Plebeian* that was chosen Consul. A Pestilential Distemper raging the next Year, carry'd off *Camillus*, venerable for his great Age and Authority, and left the *Romans* more Sorrow for his Death, than all the other Magistrates, that Sickness carry'd off.

*Lucius Sextus the first Plebeian Consul.*

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# The LIFE of *PERICLES.*

*His Family.* PEricles was of one of the Chief Families of *Athens*, both by his Father *Xantippus*, and his Mother *Agariste*; who Dreaming that she was deliver'd of a Lion, brought forth in a few Days her Son *Pericles*. The long Disproportion of his Head, made the Sculptors still Carve him in an Helmet; but the Poets wou'd not conceal his Defect, but call'd him *Schinocephalos*, or *Onion-Pate*. *Damon* was his Master in Musick, or as others say, *Pythoclides*. In Physicks he heard *Zeno Eleates*: But his chief Instructor in the Arts of Popularity, and that Greatness of Mind, a happy Address, that renders a Man agreeable to the People, was *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*. He was so like *Pisistratus* the Tyrant, that he gave some Apprehension to the great Ones; but to avoid Suspicion, he neglected the Administration, and apply'd himself to the Wars. But on the Death of *Aristides*, the Banishment of *Themistocles*, and the Absence of *Cimon*, he apply'd to the State, and to Establish his Affairs in Safety, and remove all Suspicion of affecting the Tyranny. As *Cimon* made it his Business to gain the Esteem of the Nobility and Heads, so did he to Ingratiate himself with the People, the Vulgar and Poorer Sort, there securing himself, and an Interest

reſt capable of ſerving him on Occaſion againſt *Cimon*: Yet he was not always among the People, nor ſpoke to any Thing in Publick, which was not of the greateſt Importance, leaving the Affairs of leſs Conſideration to others; and to keep up his Gravity, never went to any of the Publick Suppers and Feaſts. But aiming to make his Oratory anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Spirit, and Gravity of Life, he follow'd the Example and Inſtruction of his Tutor *Anaxagoras* ſo well, that none cou'd approach him in the Art of Speaking. Hence he was call'd *Olympius*, as the Poets tell us, partly in Railery, and partly with Seriouſneſs, ſaying, that he *Lighten*'d and *Thunder*'d in his Speeches, and that he had a Thunderbolt in his Tongue. Yet he always went to ſpeak in Publick with a great deal of Fear and Diffidence, leſt he ſhou'd let fall ſome Word not proper to the Matter in Hand.

He left nothing but ſome Ordinances in Writing, and very few of his Sayings have been tranſmitted to us; among thoſe, this Reprimand of *Sophocles* his Collegue in the Generalſhip was good; who praiſing a handſome Boy, *A General* (ſaid *Pericles*) *ought not only to have clean Hands, but Eyes.* And in his Panegyrick on thoſe that were Slain in the Battle of *Samos*, he ſays, that by dying for their Country they had attain'd the Immortality of the Gods. His Popularity was ſo great, as to oppoſe, and even clip the Power of the *Areopagus*, and Baniſh'd *Cimon* by *Oſtraciſm*, under Pretence of his favouring the *Lacedemonians*, but really for his Oppoſition to the Power of the People. A War ariſing during his Exile with the *Lacedemonians*, *Cimon*, to clear himſelf from the Imputation of adhering to them, ventur'd to join his own Tribe, notwithſtanding his Baniſhment, but was by *Pericles* forc'd from the Field, where all his Friends periſh'd on the Spot. *Pericles* behav'd himſelf with the greateſt Courage and Conduct, being everywhere, and avoiding no Danger; but yet the Battle was loſt, being fought in the Country of *Tanagra*, on the Border of *Attica*. *Oſtraciſm.*

But the People, uneaſie with the Apprehenſions of a more deſperate War to enſue, expreſs'd their Deſire of *Cimon*'s Return; and *Pericles*, to pleaſe them, made a Decree for recalling him from Exile, who being made *Admiral*, (as by private Compact agreed between *Elpinice*, *Cimon*'s Siſter, and *Pericles*, before his Return,) dy'd ſoon after at the Iſle of *Cyprus*. This Heightening the *Ariſtocratical* Parties Fears of the Popular Power of *Pericles*, who diſpos'd of every Thing, they ſet up *Thucydides*, a Kinſman of *Cimon*'s, againſt him; who by his Addreſs in his Harangues,

rangues, he brought the Parties to a greater *Æquilibrium*; upon which *Pericles* let loose the Reins to the People, managing all Things to the Popular Gusts; contriving perpetually Shows, Feasts, Solemnities, Entertainments, and various Useful and Beneficial Diversions. For the improving Navigation, Sixty Galleys were every Year sent out with Voluntiers, who were Eight Months in Pay, by which the Citizens grew skilful in Sea-Affairs. He sent a Thousand into the *Chersonesus* to divide the Land among them, and strengthen the Plantation. Five Hundred he sent to *Naxus*, Half as many to *Andros*, and a Thousand to *Thrace*, and a Colony into *Italy*, to Repeople *Sybaris*, whose People were all *Thracians*; all which he sent from *Athens*, to rid it of the Idle and Factious Sort of People, who having no Business of their own, would be Turbulent in the City. He made many Vast and Noble Buildings for the Ornament of the City, which are a lasting Witness of the Power and Wealth of *Greece* at that Time. By this means he not only employ'd the Multitude in useful and artificial Works, but held as it was the Artificers at Home in the Pay of the State, as well as the Soldiers and Seamen Abroad, making the Publick Revenue beneficial to all of them. But this his Enemies most declaim'd against, as employing the Money contributed by *Greece* for its common Defence to the particular Ornament of that one City: But he reply'd, That since they found only the Money, and the *Athenians* Men, Arms and Ammunition, the Money was not the Giver's, but their's who perform'd the Condition of the Gift, as the *Athenians* had done. But his Adversary *Thucydides* press'd violently, that the Publick Treasury was squandred away to no Purpose by *Pericles*, who therefore rising up in the Publick Assembly, put the Question to the People, Whether they thought that he had laid out too much of the Publick Money? They answering in the Affirmative; *Well then*, said he, *the Charge shall be mine, not yours, and my Name only shall be inscrib'd on all the Temples and other Publick Structures.* Struck either with Admiration of his Greatness of Mind, or Emulous of sharing the Glory with him, they cry'd out, That he shou'd go on, and spare no Cost out of the Publick Revenue till all was perfected.

*Pericles his Reply to the Accusation of Wasting the Publick Revenue.*

*Thucydides* and he now striving which should subject the other to the *Ostrocism*, *Pericles* prevail'd, and with his Adversary crush'd the whole Faction: Thus all Things being united in Peace, *Pericles* began to alter his Conduct, drawing in those Reins he was wont to let lye so loose on the People; nor was he any longer so tame, and gentle,

gentle, and compliant with the Pleaſure of the Populace; but reſtrain'd by degrees their Licentious Way of Living, and recall'd them to a more regular, better and more frugal Way of Government: Setting a Guard on his own Actions, by the Authority of his Integrity and Perſwaſions, he led them Willingly moſt commonly, and ſometimes againſt their Inclinations, to what was moſt Honourable and Advantageous to the Commonwealth. That which gave him this Power was not only his Art of Speaking, by which he managed the People by their Paſſions, but his Reputation of Integrity, not being capable of taking a Bribe, or hunting after Riches for himſelf; neither Improving nor Diminiſhing his Paternal Eſtate by all his Power and Dignities; but many taſted of his Bounty, omitting nothing to ſtir up the Minds of the People to Great and Glorious Actions. To this End he propoſes an Edict or Decree to ſummon all the *Grecians* in *Europe* or *Aſia* to ſend their Deputies to *Athens*, as a Convention of Eſtates, to conſult the Service of the Univerſal Body of the *Greeks*, the Care of their Temples deſtroy'd by the *Barbarians*, the Security of Navigation, *&c.* But the *Lacedemonians* underhand diſappointed the Noble Deſign.

*A great Project of Pericles.*

His Caution in War was not the leaſt of his Virtues or Praiſe, by which he never raſhly or willingly engaged where there was but little Proſpect of Victory. Thus finding *Tolmides* fluſh'd with his former Succeſſes, reſolving to Invade the *Beotians*, as perceiving the Preparations not equal to the Attempt, he diſſwaded him from the Undertaking; but he ſlighting the Advice of *Pericles*, he bid him wait the Counſel of Time, which in the News of the Overthrow of *Tolmides*, and his Death, gain'd *Pericles* great Reputation and Reſpect as a Wiſe Man, and a Lover of his Countrymen.

His Securing the *Cherſoneſe* by a Wall and Dyke from Sea to Sea from the Inſults of the *Thracians* gain'd him more Love than all his other Expeditions. Tho' that of his ſailing round the Coaſts of the *Peloponeſus*, ravaging and deſtroying moſt of the Maritime Places, and landing his Forces, and driving the Country to the Fortify'd Places, and beating the *Sicyonians* in a Battle, and fixing his Trophy of Victory at *Nemea*, where the Battle was fought, gave great Cauſe of Wonder and Diſcourſe to all Foreigners. Taking ſome *Achaians* on Board, he ſet Sail, and paſſing the River *Achelous*, he over-ran *Acarnania*, and drove the *Oneadæ* within their Walls, while he ravaged their Country. He ſet Sail for Home with a ſtrong

ſtrong Fleet, being a Terror to his Enemies, and Security to his Friends, and perform'd the Voyage without any Diſorder or Misfortune. In his Expedition to *Pontus* he did all the Service he could to his Confederate *Greek* Cities, and all the Detriment he could to the Barbarians, reducing the whole Seas to the Juriſdiction of *Athens*. He ſent a Supply of Six Hundred *Athenian* Volunteers to poſſeſs themſelves of the Eſtates of the Tyrant *Timeſileos* and his Party, who were expell'd *Sinope*.

The Peoples Succeſs had rais'd extravagant Deſires of extending their Arms as far as *Perſia* and *Sicily*, nay, even to *Carthage*; but *Pericles*, always jealous of the *Lacedæmonians*, yielded not to their Madneſs, keeping his Forces to preſerve what he had gain'd at Home. He went with his Army againſt the *Eubeans*, who had Revolted; but hearing of the Inroad made by *Pleiſtonax*, King of *Sparta*, on the *Megarians*, and his advancing to the Confines of *Attica*, he march'd thence with his Forces againſt him. But not thinking fit to hazard a Battle, he found Means by Money to corrupt *Cleandrides*, the King's Guardian, to withdraw the *Peloponeſian* Forces from *Attica*; and then with Fifty Sail of Ships paſſing into *Eubæa*, he reduced and puniſh'd the Revolters, driving away all the *Heſſiæans*, and ſettling a Colony of *Athenians* in their Places, he expell'd the *Hippobatæ*, or Horſe-feeders, from the *Chalcidians*.

*Pleiſtonax, King of Lacedæmon.*

*His Expedition againſt Samos.*

After this having made a Truce of Thirty Years betwixt *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, he orders by a Publick Decree an Expedition againſt *Samos*, undertaken, as 'tis ſaid, at the Perſwaſion of *Aſpaſia*, under Pretence that the *Samians* wou'd not deſiſt from the War with the *Mileſians*, the Countrymen of *Aſpaſia*, and ſtand to the Award of the *Athenians*, as they had been commanded by them. *Pericles* changes their Government from an *Ariſtocracy* to a *Democracy*, refuſing the Bribes both of the Powerful *Samians* and the *Perſian* King's Deputies, Favourers of the *Samians*; he takes Fifty Hoſtages of the chief Inhabitants, and ſends them to *Lemnos* to be kept; but they, on his Return to *Athens*, being deliver'd up, they Revolt. On which *Pericles* ſets out again with a Fleet of Forty-four Sail, and near the Iſle *Targia*, Fights, Routs and Sinks Seventy of the *Samians*; and purſuing the reſt, gets Poſſeſſion of the Port, and Blocks up the Town. But hearing that the *Phænicians* were coming to the Relief of the Beſieged, leaving a Guard to carry on the Siege, he ſails away to meet and beat the Auxiliaries. The *Samians* on his Departure, by the Perſwaſion of *Meliſſus*, make a vigorous Salley,

Salley, and put the *Athenians* to Flight, and puniſh'd the Priſoners with Infamy: But *Pericles* having Intelligence of this Diſaſter, return'd to bring his Friends Relief; and having met and vanquiſh'd *Meliſſus*, ſurrounded *Samos* with a Wall, and in the Ninth Month of the Siege became Maſter of the City, whoſe Walls he demoliſh'd, and took away the Shipping, and amerc'd them in a great Sum of Money.

*Samos* thus being taken, he returns to *Athens*, makes Noble Funerals for the Slain in the Battle for their Country, ſpeaking Orations in their Praiſe, which gave him a mighty kind Reception by the Ladies, who crown'd him with Garlands and Ribbons, as the Victors at the *Olympick* Games. But *Elpenice*, the Siſter of *Cimon*, could not forbear rallying him in this manner; *The Great Actions you have done are worthy our Chaplets, ſince you have loſt us ſo vaſt a Number of Worthy Citizens; not againſt the* Phænicians *or* Medes, *as my Brother* Cimon *uſed to do, but to deſtroy a Confederate City, of the ſame Nation and Kindred.* But *Pericles* with a Smile reply'd in the Words of *Archilochus*;

*Old Women forbear*
*To Powder your Hair;*
*Leave Perfumes and Powder to the Young and Fair.*

Soon after, by his Advice, the *Athenians* ſent Aſſiſtance to the *Corcyreans* againſt the *Corinthians* by *Lacedemonius*, Son of *Cimon*, with only Ten Ships by way of Contumely, tho' he diſpatch'd more on the Murmurs of the People, which arriv'd not till after the Battle. This Aſſiſtance of the *Corcyreans* made the *Corinthians* complain to the *Lacedæmonians*. With them join'd the People of *Ægina*, as ill uſed and treated with Violence; at the ſame time thoſe of *Megara* complain'd of being prohibited Commerce to the *Athenian* Ports by a Publick Decree, to the great Damage of Traffick. But *Archidamus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, was not for Declaring War againſt *Athens*, if they would Abrogate the Decree againſt the *Megarenſians:* And becauſe *Pericles* ſtirr'd mightily againſt the Reſcinding that Law, the whole *Odium* of the War was levell'd againſt him as its only Cauſe, diſappointing all the *Lacedæmonian* Negotiations about it with the People: So that believing they could never compaſs their Point, unleſs they cou'd remove *Pericles* from the Adminiſtration, they made it their Endeavours to bring that about; but the more they declar'd againſt him, the more the *Athenians* were for him,

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concluding themſelves the more ſafe under the Conduct of a General odious to their Enemies.

*The* Lacedæmonian *War.*

*Pericles* now finding by the Condemnation of *Phidias*, the Accuſation of *Anaxagoras* and *Aſpaſia*, and his being call'd on to give up his Accounts, that he was himſelf in Danger, promoted the War to buſie the People: So *Archidamus*, the *Lacedæmonian* King, enters the Confines with Sixty Thouſand Men. But *Pericles* thinking the Hazard too great to venture a Battle with ſo numerous an Army, ſhuting up the Gates, and placing Guards everywhere, remain'd in the City. Tho' this was maligned by many as a Cowardly Conduct, yet keeping to his better-weigh'd Judgment of Things, he never ſtirr'd till he had got ready an Hundred Sail of Ships, which he ſent to make Inroads into the Countries of the *Peloponeſus*: But he never left the City till the *Peloponeſian* Forces quitted the Country; but then, with his Foot marching into the Territories of *Megara*, he waſted all around him. But a Peſtibutical Diſtemper infecting the *Athenians*, the Anger of all was directed againſt him as the Cauſe of it, in cooping up ſo many of the Country Rabble in the Town with 'em. But to remove the Calumny, repreſs the Enemy, and refreſh the *Athenians* with Change of Air, getting together an Hundred and Fifty Sail of Ships, Mann'd them with a great Plenty of Brave and Able Seamen. And when he was gone on Board his Galley of Three Ranks of Oars, the Sun was Eclipſed, which terrify'd not only the Multitude, but the Maſter of his Veſſel became a little doubtful what to do. On which *Pericles*, hiding his Face with his Cloak, ask'd him if there ſeem'd any thing in that terrible to him? And when he reply'd in the Negative, *What more then*, ſaid he, *do you dread from the Eclipſes of the Sun?* And ſetting Sail on this, they Beſieged the Holy City *Epidaurus*, which he had great Hopes of taking, had not the Encreaſe of the Plague in the Navy diſappointed the Succeſs.

Theſe Things concurring, the Peoples Love was ſo gone, that all he cou'd do was not able to hinder them from taking away his Commiſſion, and fining him Fifteen, as ſome ſay, and others Fifty Talents.

*His Difference with his Son* Xantippus.

This Evil was not alone, but attended by the Loſs of many of his Friends in the Plague, and his Difference with his Eldeſt Son *Xantippus*, whoſe Wife being young and extravagant, he could not eaſily ſupply her by his Father's narrow Allowance, but took up Money in his Father's Name, which *Pericles* not only refuſed to pay, but fin'd the Lender

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as making a falſe Demand. This made *Xantippus* rail at his Father, and expoſe his Domeſtick Converſation, and die in Enmity with him at laſt when he was cut off by the Plague, in which he loſt his Siſter, and the greateſt part of thoſe Friends he was wont to make uſe of in Affairs of State; yet he was unmov'd with any Grief unbecoming his Gravity: But when he loſt *Paralus*, the Youngeſt of his Legitimate Sons, his Conſtancy fail'd him, and his Gravity gave way to his Grief and Tears.

After he had been ſome time diſmiſs'd, the People finding none ſo fit for the Adminiſtration of the Publick as *Pericles*, reſtor'd him to the Magiſtracy with all the Joy and Deſire imaginable. He finding the People appeaſed, rouzing from his Grief and Misfortunes, took upon him the Government. And tho' he had promoted the Law againſt Baſtards, yet now having loſt all his lawful Iſſue, in Conſideration that he had been ſufficiently puniſh'd for his former Haughtineſs, the People paſs'd a Law for Legitimating his Baſtard Son. At the Time that his Son was enroll'd an *Athenian*, *Pericles* was infected with the Plague; and when he was very near Death, and the Great Men that was about him praiſing him among themſelves, that he had Erected Three Trophies for Victories for his Country, and had been greater than any one elſe; he ſaid, *You have forgot one Thing, that I was never the Cauſe of any* Athenian's *wearing Mourning:* For he valued himſelf moſt for this, that poſſeſſing ſo great Power ſo long, he never had been cruel to any: But when he was dead his Loſs appear'd greater every Day to the *Athenians* than other: Since thoſe evil Humours which his Conduct ſuppreſs'd, when he was removed broke out to the Publick Detriment.

*Pericles ſeiz'd by the Plague.*

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# The LIFE of *Fabius Maximus.*

Fabius's *Family and Temper.*

SOME derive the Family of the *Fabii* from *Hercules*, by a Nymph, or ſome Woman near the *Tyber*; but however that be, 'tis certain that *Fabius* was the Fourth in Deſcent from *Fabius Rutilianus*, the Firſt that brought the Name of *Maximus* into the Family. He was from his Childhood ſometimes call'd *Verrucoſus*, from a Wart on his Hip, and ſometimes *Ovicula*, from the Mildneſs of his Temper. When a Boy he was quiet, and of few Words, and extreamly modeſt, whence he incurr'd the Imputation of Folly in the Opinion of many. But by his Application he every Day grew Judicious and Conſtant. Inuring himſelf to Hardſhip and Military Affairs, he neglected not his Study of Eloquence, though he was not very ready at Speaking.

In his firſt Conſulſhip he defeated the *Ligurians*, and drove them to the *Alps*, whence never afterwards they moleſted their Neighbours. *Hannibal* ſoon after entring *Italy*, and beating the *Romans* at *Trebia*, march'd through *Tuſcany*, where *Flaminius*, the Collegue of *Fabius*, againſt his Advice joining Battle, was kill'd, and Fifteen Thouſand more, beſides as many taken Priſoners near the Lake *Traſimene*. The Neceſſity that this Raſhneſs of the other Conſul had produced made the People chuſe *Fabius* Dictator, who made *Lucius Minutius* the Maſter of his Horſe, and obtain'd Leave of the Senate to ſerve on Horſeback in Battle, that not being permitted the *Roman* Generals without Leave.

Fabius *Conſul, and ſoon after Dictator.*

The firſt Thing he did was to begin with Religion, to the Neglect of which, not want of Courage in the Soldiers, he perſwaded them to attribute their paſt Misfortunes. Having thus brought them to believe, that the Gods were on their Side, put the whole Confidence of his Succeſs in himſelf, he lead out his Army to ſtop the Progreſs of *Hannibal*, not with a Deſign of Fighting him, but of waſting his Forces by Delays. To this Purpoſe he march'd thro' the Hilly Parts, and ſhewing himſelf often to *Hannibal*, he never got ſo near as to be compell'd

Fabius's *Delay.*

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to a Battle. But this Conduct, little underſtood by the Soldiers, brought many Scandalous Reports on him, injurious to his Fame, ſo far, that *Minutius*, his Maſter of the Horſe, a Man of a fierce and fiery Temper, gave his Tongue the Liberty of openly ridiculing and abuſing his Conduct; from the Camp theſe Rumours paſt to *Rome*, as if the Dictator was defective in Courage, and cover'd his Cowardice under the ſpecious Pretence of Caution. Yet all theſe Obloquies, had no Influence on *Fabius*, nor were of Force enough to make him alter his Meaſures, and engage the Enemy.

But an Accident of *Hannibal*'s being miſled by his Guides to *Caſilinum*, near *Campagnia*, inſtead of *Caſinum*, theſe Rumours had a ſmall Ceſſation. For by this Means the *Carthaginian* Army fell into a plain Country, all ſurrounded with Hills, where *Fabius* having plac'd his Men, fell on their Rear, and kill'd Eight Hundred of them. *Hannibal* finding the Streights he was reduc'd to, and that he cou'd not deliver himſelf by Force of Arms, deceiv'd his Enemies by this new Stratagem. He caus'd dry Bavens and lighted Torches to be faſten'd to the Heads and Horns of Two Thouſand Head of Oxen, and them to be driven towards the Entrance of the Valley, which was guarded by the *Roman* Soldiers, which ſeem'd like a marching Army at firſt, but burning down they ſcatter'd about, and took the Hills, and various Places, till the *Roman* Guards, frighted with the Appearance, quited their Poſt, and flying to their Camp, and the *Carthaginian* Horſe poſſeſſing the Paſſes, *Hannibal* ſoon got with his Army out of the Valley. Which when *Fabius* diſcover'd in the Morning falling on his Rear, was by the light arm'd *Spaniards*, detach'd by *Hannibal*, forc'd back to his Camp; this gave freſh Ground for the former Rumours to revive, and Reflections were every where caſt on him, as inferior to his Enemy both in Courage and Conduct. *Hannibal's Cunning.*

*Hannibal*, to improve this Hatred againſt him, order'd the Lands of *Fabius* to be untouch'd, whilſt he laid Waſte all the Country about. The Reports of theſe Things encreaſed by that time they arriv'd at *Rome*, and the *Tribunes* threw all the Misfortunes on *Fabius*, the Senate itſelf influenc'd by this Obloquy, refus'd to pay the Ranſome agreed on of Two Hundred and Forty *Romans*, above the Number, that they had to Exchange for them. But *Fabius* reſolving to keep his Word with the Enemy, makes his Son ſell his Farms, and pays Two Hundred and Fifty

Drachma's a Head for them to *Hannibal* out of his own Pocket; and when many of the Ranſom'd offer'd to reimburſe him, he refus'd to take their Money. *Fabius* being now ſent for to *Rome* to aſſiſt their Solemn Sacrifices, he left the Army to *Minutius*, earneſtly entreating him not engage the Enemy. But the Dictator being gone, and *Minutius* obſerving *Hannibal* had ſent out a great Part of his Army to Forrage, he fell on a great Party of them, and drove them with great Slaughter to their very Camp, and thence retreated without Loſs to his own. This Succeſs not only heighten'd the Boldneſs of *Minutius*, and the Deſire of the Soldiers for a Battle, but coming to *Rome*, drew on Accuſations againſt *Fabius* by *Metellus*, the Tribune of the People; but he diſdaining to anſwer to their Charge, only ſaid, *Haſten the Sacrifices, that I may quickly go and puniſh* Minutius *for preſuming to fight contrary to my Orders.* The Fear of the Death of *Minutius*, made the People, by the Inſtigation of the Tribune, to make him equal with him in Power, and a Partner in the Dictatorſhip, which was never done before. But *Fabius* diſappointed the Malice of his Enemies, by not reſenting what they meant as an Indignity, and was only concern'd for the Good of his Country. *Minutius*, puff'd up with this new Dignity, wou'd Command the Army by Turns; but *Fabius* fearing the ill Event of that, made an equal Diviſion of Legions and Auxiliaries betwixt them. *Minutius* therefore ſeparated Camps, and boaſted in the hearing of *Fabius* that he had humbled the Man, that ſo lately trampled on their Lives and Fortunes; to which *Fabius* mildly reply'd, *You miſtake your Enemy*, Minutius; Hannibal, *not* Fabius, *you are to Combate; but if you will contend with your Collegue, let it be in Diligence and Care for the Preſervation of* Rome, *that it may not be ſaid one ſo favour'd by the People ſerv'd them worſe, than one who has been ſo ill treated by them.* But *Hannibal*, that was not ignorant of theſe Things, watch'd his Opportunity of making his Advantage of them, ſo having laid his Ambuſh, he provok'd *Minutius* to Battle, who knowing nothing of the Ambuſh, met him with a great deal of Bravery and Courage, and held the Day on equal Terms, till the Ambuſh'd Soldiers appear'd, and ſurrounding the *Romans*, made a great Slaughter of them, who being totally routed, loſt many on the Spot. But *Fabius* ſeeing his Collegue worſted, thought it time to bring Relief to the *Roman* Affairs; and drawing out his Men in Order of Battle, exhorting them to act bravely, and ordering his Soldiers to march towards the Enemy, falls boldly on them, puts them in Confuſion, and to Flight,

**Minutius *made Dictator with* Fabius.**

Flight, killing great Numbers in a very little while. But *Hannibal*, as ſoon as he perceiv'd his Men to give Way, and turn their Backs, ſounding a Retreat, he drove them into his Camp; and turning to his Friends, *Did I not tell you* (ſaid he) *often, that this Cloud that always hover'd on the Mountains wou'd at ſome time, or other break with a Storm upon us.* *Fabius* retir'd to his own Camp as ſoon as his Men had pick'd up the Plunder of the Field, without the leaſt Reflection on his Collegue. But *Minutius*, ſenſible of his Error, acknowledging it to his Men, recommending to them Obedience to the Dictator, as he always wou'd do, then leading them to the Camp of *Fabius*, and he coming out to meet him, he laid his Standard at his Feet, and calling him his Father, the Patron and Security of the Soldiers, ſaid, Two Victories have you this Day gain'd, O *Fabius!* For you have vanquiſh'd your Enemies by your Valour, and your Collegue by your Prudence.

Soon after this *Fabius* laid down the Dictatorſhip, and new Conſuls were choſen, who following the Method of *Fabius*, avoiding Battle, and only ſuccouring the Allies, and preſerving the Towns from falling off. But *Terentius Varro*, and *Paulus Æmylius*, being choſen Conſuls, *Varro*'s impetuous Temper prevail'd for commanding by Turns; the Day on which *Varro* Commanded he gave Battle, and loſt Fifty Thouſand *Romans* falling on the Spot, and Four Thouſand being taken Priſoners, and *Paulus Æmilius* being Slain in the thickeſt of the Fight. The great Conſternation this Defeat had caus'd in *Rome* being a little abated by *Hannibal*'s not coming to *Rome*, but marching to *Capua*. They choſe *Marcellus* and *Fabius Maximus* Generals againſt him; one full of Spirit and Courage, the other as much repleniſhed with Prudence and Judgment. After *Marcellus* had often oppos'd *Hannibal*, ſometimes broken his Forces, and ſometimes put him to Flight, and brought many Loſſes on him, was at laſt ſlain by his Stratagem in his Fifth Conſulſhip. And tho' *Fabius* very well defended himſelf from the *Punick* Arts, yet he was very near being Trepann'd, by Letters ſent by *Hannibal* in the Name of the *Metapontani*, promiſing to Surrender their Town on his Approach; but now reſolving to march thither, by the ill Omens of the Augury, he dropp'd the Deſign, and ſo eſcap'd the Ambuſh laid for his Reception.

*The Slaughter of the Romans at Cannas.*

*Fabius and Marcellus choſen Generals againſt Hannibal.*

*The Death of Marcellus.*

But his Conduct was ſingular, in ſoothing the Allies and City, and keeping them firm, not liſtning to every ſlight Suggeſtion, but quietly exhorted them to remain in their Alliance. What he did to a *Marſian*, which was accuſed of endeavouring to corrupt the Soldiers to Deſert, will be an

Example ſufficient. For taking no notice of the Accuſation, nor puniſhing the Crime, he told him he was ſenſible Rewards did not go by Merit, but Favour; that therefore he bid him, whenever aggriev'd, to apply only to him, ſo made him a Preſent of an Excellent Horſe, and other Gifts, which from one ſuſpected made him the moſt faithful of the Army. He was inform'd much about that Time, that a common Soldier, a *Lucanian*, Brave and Couragious in all Actions, lay out of the Camp every Night, and found it was for the Sake of a Young Woman; whom having got into his Cuſtody, and ſending for the Man, he told him his Fault of being out of the Camp; and that he might do ſo no more, gave him the Woman, ſaying, That you may not any more leave the Camp at Night, ſhe ſhall ſtay with you here.

*Tarentum is recover'd.*

*Hannibal* being Maſter of *Tarentum*, left a certain *Brutian* Governour of the Place, who was deſperately in Love with a Young Lady of *Tarentum*, whoſe Brother was in the Camp of *Fabius*; and by his Conſent pretended to be a Deſerter, and ſo fled to *Tarentum*; and applying himſelf to his Siſter, encourag'd her Love, makes a Friendſhip with the Man, and with her Aſſiſtance brings him into the Deſign of Betraying the Town to the *Romans*, in Hopes of poſſeſſing one he lov'd ſo well. He diſcourſes *Fabius* under the Walls, and the Matter's agreed on; *Fabius* Politically draws *Hannibal* thence to the *Brutian* Country, by ordering his Men to Spoil the Country, and Beſiege *Caulonia*; in the mean while, by a falſe Attack on one Side, *Fabius* enters the other that was left by Agreement Defenceleſs. On the Loſs of *Tarentum* by this Means 'tis ſaid *Hannibal* cried out, *The* Romans *too have got their* Hannibal. For this he had a more Magnificent Triumph than his former, of which, when the Debate was before the Senate, *Marcus Livius* (Governour of *Tarentum*, when loſt to *Hannibal*, tho' he ſtill kept the Caſtle,) ſaid, That he was beholden to him for the taking the Town; *True*, (reply'd *Fabius*,) *for if you had not loſt* Tarentum, *I cou'd not have retaken it.* So great was now his Authority in *Rome*, that no Honour was thought ſufficient, or at leaſt too great, for him, ſo they gave his Son the Conſulſhip of the next Year. *Fabius*, willing to try his Temper and Spirit, rode up to him when he was Conſul, but the Son ſent a Lictor to ſtop him, and tell him, that he muſt approach the Conſul on Foot if he had any Buſineſs with him; the Father, pleas'd with his Conduct, alighted, and came up to him, embracing him with theſe Words; *Now thou art my Son, indeed, ſince thou knoweſt the Dues of*

*The Dignity of the Magiſtracy preferr'd to the Reſpect of a Parent.*

*the*

*the High Authority thou doſt poſſeſs: This is the Way we, and our Forefathers, have advanced the Dignity of the Commonwealth, in preferring that to our own Fathers and Children.*

The Praiſes of *Fabius* are not confin'd to this, his Patience under Loſſes were no leſs Signal, for the Death of his Son he not only bore with wonderful Moderation, but himſelf ſpoke his Funeral Oration. *Scipio* about this time had driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, and was for carrying the War into *Africa*; but *Fabius*, either out of Envy, or rather his own wary Temper, diſtruſtful of all the Counſels of Youth, oppos'd him, and brought the People to allow him only the *Sicilian* Legions, and Three Hundred of his Old Soldiers, that had ſerv'd him in *Spain*. But when *Scipio*, even ſo ill ſupply'd, had done ſuch Wonders in *Africa*, as the taking a *Numidian* King, deſtroying Two Camps of the Enemy; and all this confirm'd by the Spoils ſent to *Rome*, *Fabius* yet oppos'd the truſting the Weight of ſuch a War to him, becauſe Fortune was mutable, and therefore it was dangerous to confide all Things to one Life; by theſe and the like Diſcourſes he endeavour'd to weaken the Intereſt of *Scipio* with the People. During his Endeavours againſt him *Scipio* gall'd *Carthage* ſo much, that *Hannibal* was commanded hence to defend his own City. But *Fabius* liv'd not to ſee his Departure from *Italy*, dying much about that Time, and left ſo great a Love of the People to him, that tho' he dy'd very Rich, they defray'd the Charge of his Funeral by a general Tax, owning him by that their Common Father, which made his Death as Illuſtrious as his Life.

## *The Compariſon of* Fabius *and* Pericles.

Let us firſt compare theſe Illuſtrious Perſons in their Warlike Capacities; *Pericles* was at the Head of Affairs when *Athens* was in the Height of Proſperity; *Fabius* came to the Government to Support it when falling to Ruin, with many and great Calamities. The Victories of *Cimon*, *Myronides*, *Leocrates*, and *Tolmides*, furniſh'd *Pericles* with the Means of entertaining the People with Shows, Games and Plays, but were not us'd by him for enlarging their Empire. But *Fabius* taking the Adminiſtration upon him, was ſurrounded with Slaughter, and Deſtruction of Conſuls, Countries, and Armies; yet by his Firmneſs and Judgment kept it from being entirely ruin'd by the Foies of others. Perhaps the *Athenians* Proſperity made

them more Difficult to be Govern'd by *Pericles*; yet the Temper and Courage of *Fabius* ſeems invincible, by the Difficulty he encounter'd.

The retaking *Tarentum* we may ſet againſt *Samos*, won by *Pericles*; and the Conqueſt of *Eubea* may Ballance the *Campanian* Towns. The only Set Battle that *Fabius* fought was againſt the *Ligurians*; but *Pericles* for Nine Victories ſet up as many Trophies. Tho' the Relief that *Fabius* gave *Minutius* was the Height of Valour, Conduct and Humanity. On the other Side, *Pericles* was never overreach'd, as *Fabius* was by *Hannibal*, clos'd up in the Valley of *Caſilinum*. In the Foreſights of Future Events, a great Qualification in a General, *Pericles* ſeems to excel, for *Pericles* juſtly foretold the *Athenians* what their laſt War wou'd bring on them; but *Fabius* was much miſtaken in his denouncing the Ruin of the Commonwealth from the Undertaking of *Scipio*.

As for their Civil Polity, *Pericles* was a Lover of War, no Terms of the *Lacedemonians* being able to pleaſe him; nor was *Fabius* for yielding any Thing to *Carthage*, hazarding rather the Loſs, than leſſening of the Empire; but *Fabius* fought for his own, *Pericles* for what was other Peoples. The Inveteracy of *Pericles* againſt *Cimon* and *Thucydides* (both Lovers of their Country) is extreamly heighten'd by the Humanity and Mildneſs of *Fabius* to *Minutius*.

As to their Liberality and Publick Spirit, *Pericles* receiv'd no Gifts, *Fabius* gave many; *Pericles* had the greateſt Opportunity of growing Rich by the Publick, yet no Man was ever more free from Corruption. And the Beauty and Magnificence of his Publick Buildings excell'd all at *Rome*, till the Time of the *Cæſars*.

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# The LIFE of ALCIBIADES.

*Clinias*, the Father of *Alcibiades*, being dead when he was yet under Age, *Pericles* and *Ariphron*, Men of Eminence at that Time, were his Guardians, and took Care of his Eſtate. Tho' by his Father's Side he derived himſelf from *Ajax*, and by his Mother *Dinomache*'s Side from *Alemeon*, yet it is ſaid that the Friendſhip of *Socrates* was of great Uſe to him in acquiring Popularity and Fame. *Amyclas*, a *Spartan*, was his Nurſe, and *Zopyrus* his Schoolmaſter. His Beauty was as laſting, as excelling all others thro' all Parts of his Age, and the Liſping he had, gave a Charm to his Pronunciation. He was naturally Bold, Contentious, Unquiet, ſubject to great Paſſions, of which Ambition of Preheminence was the moſt prevailing, as appear'd from his Childhood; for wreſtling with another Boy, and fearing to be thrown by him, he bit his Hands; but his Adverſary complaining that he bit him like a Woman, he reply'd, *No, I bite like a Lion.* Another time playing in the Street at *Cockal*, a Cart came in his Way when it was his Turn to throw, he deſired the Carter to ſtop till he had thrown; but he not minding him, he threw himſelf croſs the Way, and bid him drive on then; but the Carter, ſtruck with the Clamour of the People and the Boldneſs of the Boy, in a Minute put back his Horſes. *The Manners of Alcibiades.*

When he grew up he apply'd himſelf with great Diligence to the Study of Liberal Arts, and the Cultivating his Underſtanding; but he refus'd to learn on the Flute as an illiberal Art, which only hinder'd Diſcourſe, and diſtorted the Face; but he learn'd the Lute as leſs offenſive to the Countenance and Converſation. This Notion of *Alcibiades* ſpread among the Young Gentlemen ſo far as to aboliſh the former, and encourage the latter. While his extraordinary Beauty captivated Multitudes of the Great and Rich Men, *Socrates* diſcovering the Seeds of *Learns the Lute.*

great Virtues in him, took abundance of Pains to win him from diſhoneſt Amours to an honourable Way of Living, which he accompliſh'd with the greater Eaſe, by finding his Temper very Complaiſant. *Alcibiades* improv'd ſo much by the Inſtitutions of ſuch a Director, that diſmiſſing all his Scandalous Acquaintance, he continually attended *Socrates*, to learn the Manners and Precepts of ſo Great a Man. Thus rejecting all his Lovers, he ſhow'd a particular Contempt of *Anytus*, one of the Number, for refuſing to come to a ſplendid Supper, to which he had invited him: After it was over he came and took away half the Plate, with which the Room was repleniſh'd, and went away himſelf without going into the Company; which Action while the Gueſts condemn'd as very inſolent and impudent, *Anytus*, full of Love of him, cry'd up for Modeſt, ſince he took but half, when he might have taken all. But while he was thus inſolent to *Anytus*, and perhaps to many more of his Admirers, he ſhow'd a great deal of Humanity to a poor Stranger, who preſented all he was Worth to *Alcibiades*, who ſmiling, ſhow'd himſelf not inſenſible of his Liberality; but inviting him kindly Home, after Supper return'd it all to him again; and then with Threats compell'd him to go the next Day into the Market-place, and outbid the Farmers of the Publick Revenues, which he did by a Talent. But the Farmers, vex'd to ſee the Prey ſnatch'd out of their Hands, demanded his Security, when *Alcibiades* ſtood up, and was admitted: The Farmers then gave him the Talent he had advanced to let fall his Claim. And thus *Alcibiades*, in Return to the Stranger's Love, made him Richer by a Talent than he found him. By the Inſtructions of *Socrates* he grew every Day in the Admiration of all Men. However, his Nature, which was extreamly prone to Incontinence and Luxury, would prevail, and lead him aſtray from the Dictates of Reaſon, to Wantonneſs and Variety of Pleaſures. But *Socrates* purſuing him like a fugitive Slave, reclaim'd him again to a Senſe of Virtue and himſelf; and how far he was from that Perfection his Flatterers endeavour'd to perſwade his Vanity that he had obtain'd.

*He is a Follower of Socrates.*

*His Generous Return to his poor Lover, that had given him all he had.*

*His Inſolence to his Maſters.*

Going to the Grammar-School after he was paſt a Child, asking for one of *Homer*'s Books, his Maſter reply'd, He had nothing of *Homer*'s; *Alcibiades* gave him a Box on the Ear, and went his way. Another Maſter telling him that he had *Homer* corrected by himſelf; *How!* Said Alcibiades, *doſt thou teach Grammar, that art capable of correcting* Homer? Being deny'd Admittance in a Viſit to *Pericles*,

*Pericles*, becauſe he was buſie about making up his Accounts; *He had better*, ſaid he as he went out of his Houſe, *be buſie about finding out ſome Way not to make them up at all.*

He went very Young in the Expedition againſt *Potidæa*, and fought, and lay in the ſame Tent, with *Socrates*. In the Fight being overpower'd, his Life was ſav'd by the Philoſopher, and afterwards gave his Evidence for him, and preſs'd them to Crown him. But the *Athenians* being worſted at *Delium* ſome time after, when the Enemies preſs'd hard on the Rear of thoſe that fled, *Alcibiades* ſaved *Socrates* from the Hands of the Enemies. Without any Provocation, or previous Quarrel, he gave *Hipponicus*, the Father of *Callias*, and a Man of Authority and Power, a Box on the Ear in a Frolick, becauſe he had ſaid he wou'd; which inſolent Action being univerſally condemn'd, he came to *Hipponicus*, and pull'd off his Cloaths, and deſired him to puniſh him for his Rudeneſs, which touch'd him ſo much, that he not only forgave him the Affront, but gave him his Daughter *Hipparete* in Marriage; though ſome ſay, that not *Hipponicus*, but his Son *Callias*, gave her to him, with a Portion of Ten Talents; and that when ſhe had a Child *Alcibiades* forced him to give him Ten more, on Pretence that ſuch was the Agreement. Tho' *Hipparete* was a Woman of Virtue, and fond of her Husband, yet could ſhe not bear the daily Injuries done her Bed by him; but leaving her Houſe, returns to her Brother. *Alcibiades* took no Notice of it, but lived on at the ſame rate: But when ſhe came into Court to deliver the *Archon*, the Inſtrument by which ſhe ſought Divorce, which ſhe was by Law obliged to do in Perſon, *Alcibiades* ſeizes her, and carries her through the Market-place directly Home, no Body daring to oppoſe him, and ſhe lived quietly till her Death, which happen'd not long after, during his Voyage to *Epheſus*.

*His Marriage.*

There was a Story that *Alcibiades* having bought a vaſt great Dog, whoſe Tail was its chief Ornament, he cut it off, and hearing that it was become the Town-talk, ſaid, *I have my Deſire, ſince by this I have diverted the* Athenians *from talking worſe of me.*

Enquiring the Cauſe of the Shouts of the People, and being told they were occaſioned by a Donative, he went into the Aſſembly, and gave Money among them likewiſe, which gain'd him ſo loud an Applauſe of the People, as tranſported him to forget his Quail that he had under his Robe, which being frighted with the Noiſe, flew

*His firſt appearing in Publick.*

flew from him, this redoubled the Acclamations, and made many rise to catch the Bird, which was done by *Antiochus*, a Pilot, and restor'd to him, for which *Alcibiades* held him always very dear to him. This was the first time of his appearing in the Publick Assemblies; but his Eloquence introduced him into the Management of Affairs. His Expences in Horses and Chariots for the *Olympic* Games were very extraordinary; where he won Three Prizes, which was more than any one had done before. This Success was made the more Illustrious by the Presents made him by those that contended with him. The *Ephesians* erected his Tent; the *Chians* supply'd him with Victims, and Provender for his Horses; the *Lesbians* with Wine, and other Provisions necessary for the great Entertainments, that he made: Yet he could not escape Censure in the midst of all those Victories, either thro' the Malice of his Enemies, or his own ill Conduct. One of which was, that when he had promised his Friend *Diomedes* to buy for him a Chariot at *Argos*, he bought it for himself, which was condemn'd as a Piece of Treachery.

*His Eloquence.*

Tho' he was but Young when he first began to meddle in the State, he soon lessened the Credit of those, who contended with him to head the People, *Nicias* and *Phæax* only remaining Rivals whom he could not immediately quell. The Reputation of *Nicias* with both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, by the Peace he made between them, gave *Alcibiades* a great deal of Pain, and employ'd all his Thoughts Night and Day to render him odious to the *Athenians*, and an Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*. He therefore engaged the *Argives* to join with the *Athenians*, and not be in Awe of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose dismantling and slighting the Fortifications of *Panactum*, contrary to the Articles of Agreement before they deliver'd it up furnish'd the Means; *Alcibiades* took hold of this Occasion to fall upon *Nicias*, accusing him for not seizing the Enemy who were left in the Isle of *Spacteria*; and that he set 'em at Liberty when made Prisoners by others, only to get the Favour of the *Spartans*; that he suffer'd them to enter into a Confederacy with the *Beotians* and *Corinthians*, but opposed those *Greeks* who were willing to Confederate with *Athens*, if the *Spartans* did not approve it. The Plenipotentiaries of *Lacedæmon* coming at that Time to make all Satisfaction to the *Athenian* Demands, *Alcibiades* perswades them cunningly not to own their full Powers to the People, lest that should make them higher in their Demands: So in the Assembly *Alcibiades* asking them, With what Powers they

*His Deceit with Nicias and the Spartan Ambassadors.*

they were come? They reply'd, Not with full Powers. *Alcibiades* riſes up, and calling them faithleſs and inconſtant, and not to be dealt with; the People and Council were incenſed, and *Nicias* ſurpriz'd and aſham'd at the Change of the Men: So they were rejected, and *Alcibiades* made General, who ſoon brought the *Argives*, *Elians* and *Mantineans*, into the Confederacy, which conſiſting of almoſt all the *Peloponeſus*, brought the War Home to *Sparta*: Among which *Argos* being received, they expell'd the Nobility, and reſtor'd the *Democracy* under the Protection of *Alcibiades*. He likewiſe won the *Patræans* to the *Athenian* Side, and perſwaded them to lengthen their Walls to the Sea. *The Spartan War.*

But he in ſome meaſure obſcured all his Noble Actions and Sayings by his exorbitant Luxury in Eating, Drinking and Amours, which drew on him the Hatred of the Great Ones, who reflected on him as ſtudious of ſuch Manners as ſeem'd to affect a Tyranny, and were unfit for a Republick. But by his Largeſſes, and Publick Shows, and Eloquence, his Magnificence to the Republick, Military Diſcipline, Quality and Beauty, he got the Goodwill and Hearts of the People entirely. He kept the Painter *Agatharcus* Priſoner till he had painted his whole Houſe, but then let him go, and gave him a great Reward. He publickly ſtruck *Taureas*, who to Rival him exhibited Shows in Oppoſition to him. *Timon* the *Man-hater* met him as he was attended by the whole Aſſembly from his Oration, and ſaid to him, *Go on without Fear, Young Man, and encreaſe in the Love of the People, for thou wilt one Day bring Calamities enough.* *Agatharcus.* *Timon's Saying to him.*

*Alcibiades* was mightily for promoting the *Sicilian* War, and heightning the *Athenians* Inclination to it to the utmoſt by ſeveral Orations, and ſhow'd them, that by this War they would extend their Dominions far and wide. But *Nicias* oppoſed this Opinion of *Alcibiades* with all his Power, as Unprofitable, and of pernicious Conſequence to the Commonwealth: But the Advice of *Alcibiades* was more agreeable to the People. *Socrates* the Philoſopher, and *Melon* the Aſtrologer, join'd with *Nicias* againſt it; but the People being fix'd on the War, declare *Nicias*, *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, Generals. *Nicias* did what he could not to accept of the Command, but the Senate obliged him to take it, hoping that his Temperance and Moderation would qualifie the Heat and Fire of the other Two. On the Debate about making neceſſary Proviſions for the War, *Nicias* again try'd *The Sicilian War.*

to

to divert it; but *Alcibiades* carry'd the Point again with the People. But while the Fleet was ready to ſail there were Two ill Omens affrighted the People: For the Feaſt of *Adonis* was then Celebrated, in which the Matrons ſinging mournful Songs, perform a Sort of Funeral Rites; and the ſame Night all the Statues of *Mercury* were maim'd. This was by his Enemies caſt upon *Alcibiades*; but this was to get an Opportunity to do him a Miſchief, and ſtir up the People againſt him; and Information was given in againſt him, That he had in his drunken Frolicks ridiculed the Rites of *Ceres*, he acting the High-Prieſt, and his other Companions his Miniſters, where he divulged the Sacred Secrets of the Myſtery; his Accuſer was *Theſſalus*. But his Enemies finding the Soldiers and Seamen tumultuous on this Occaſion, importuned the Senate and People to ſend him away immediately, and not to delay the War for a private Cauſe, which might more properly be tried and decided when that was done. But *Alcibiades*, who ſoon ſmelt out the Trick, was very preſſing that his Cauſe might be immediately try'd before he went on the Expedition. But his Adverſaries prevail'd on the Peoples Eagerneſs for the War, and he was commanded on Board to ſet Sail immediately. They had with them about 143 Rank'd Gallies, 5100 Men at Arms, and 1300 Archers, Slingers and Light-armed, with Ammunition and Proviſion proportionable. Arriving happily on the Coaſt of *Italy*, and taking *Regium*, facing *Sicily*, and there debating of the War, *Nicias* oppoſed them; but *Lamachus* and *Alcibiades* agreeing, they ſail'd for *Sicily*, and took *Catana*, not far from *Syracuſe*.

Regium *taken.*

But in the midſt of this happy Beginning the ill News came to him, which recall'd him to ſtand his Trial at *Athens*. For the People being exaſperated againſt him by his Enemies, would have the Cauſe decided. And ſo great a Madneſs had ſeiz'd the City, that minding no Form of Juſtice, not one ſuſpected guilty of this Conſpiracy could eſcape the Hands of the enraged Multitude: So that the ſafeſt Way his Friends could take was to avoid the Fury of the People; all whoſe Anger and Malice was turn'd on *Alcibiades*: They ſold his Goods by Auction, condemn'd him in his Abſence, and had him execrated by the Prieſts as one moſt Wicked and Profligate; which of all the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes *Theano* only refuſed, ſaying, *Her Office was to Pray, not to Curſe.*

Alcibiades *condemn'd.*

*Alcibiades* highly provok'd by these violent Transactions, discover'd to the *Syracusians* the Design of the Surrender of *Messina*, which else had fallen into the *Athenians* Hands. Being arrived at *Thuria*, and escaping their Hands who were to bring him back to *Athens*, he was told that Sentence of Death was past against him; he said, *I will make them sensible that I am yet alive*; and getting there a Galley, he pass'd into the *Peloponesus*, and stay'd some time at *Argos*. But thinking himself not safe there, having received the Faith of the *Spartans* for his Safeguard, he went to, and was received into *Lacedæmon*, and got their Friendship at once. His first Advice was to send Succours out of hand to the *Syracusians*, which they did under *Gylippus* effectually; next to make War upon *Athens* on the Side of the *Peloponesus*; and thirdly, to fortifie *Declea*, which was the most prejudicial Thing that could be done to the *Athenians*. These Advices gain'd him Credit and Esteem, but his entire conforming himself to the *Laconic* Way of Living gain'd him the entire Love of the People; for he shaved his Beard close, went into the Cold Baths, eat the Brown Bread and Black Broth; so that he seem'd to have been brought up from his Cradle in the Institutions of *Lycurgus*: Yet his Old Nature remain'd, for in the Absence of King *Agis* he corrupts his Wife *Timæa*, and gets her with Child. *Agis* had, besides the Information of many People, this Argument of his Wife's Falshood, that he had been above Ten Months absent from her. The *Athenian* Affairs in the mean time going ill in *Sicily*, the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Cyzianians*, seeking Help of the *Lacedæmonians*, fell off from the *Athenians*. The *Chians* were first assisted, by the Perswasions of *Alcibiades*; in which Expedition he so managed the Matter, that he drew all *Ionia* to a Defection. But *Agis*, on account of corrupting his Wife, and many Great Men of *Sparta*, out of Envy, were so great Enemies to him, and so far prevail'd as to get Orders to have him kill'd in *Ionia*. But he being inform'd of the Design, flies away to *Tisaphernes*, the King of *Persia*'s Lieutenant, who, notwithstanding his morose Temper and cruel Hatred of the *Greeks*, was so won with the agreeable and artful Flatteries of *Alcibiades*, that he was entirely fond of him; so that having some Gardens of Pleasure, adorn'd with Fountains, Flowry Meads, and containing Royal Appartments, he gave them the Name of *Alcibiades*. His Power and Interest every Day encreased with the *Barbarian*; and though in Exile, he assisted his Country both with Help and Advice. This Interest with *Tisaphernes* put it in his Power to negotiate his

*The Faction of Agis against Alcibiades.*

*He flies to Tisapher-nes.*

*His great Interest with him.*

his Return with the Fleet and Army that lay at *Samos*, but *Phrynicus* their General oppoſed it; and it went ſo far, that *Phrynicus* propoſed the Betraying the Army and Fleet to the Enemy, which *Alcibiades* ſent word of to the Leaders, but was not credited, till *Phrynicus* being ſtabbed by *Hermon*, then on the Watch, the Matter was examin'd, and he condemn'd as a Traitor, though dead, and *Hermon* rewarded. Now the Friends of *Alcibiades* prevailing, *Piſander* was ſent to *Athens*, to endeavour the Change of the Government, pretending, that if the Government were *Olygarchical*, *Alcibiades* would procure the Confederacy of *Tiſaphernes*. But the Government being uſurped by Four Hundred, the whole Fleet at *Samos* with one Voice choſe *Alcibiades* General, that he might deſtroy the Tyranny of the 400. But he joining with *Thraſybulus*, diſſwaded them from going to *Athens* in an Hoſtile Manner: But having preſerved *Athens*, by keeping the *Phœnician* Fleet from joining the *Lacedæmonians*, the Four Hundred being ſoon after expell'd by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends; ſo that the City not only deſired, but commanded his Return; but he reſolving to return with more Glory to himſelf and Country, ſailed from *Samos* with Eighteen Gallies, and cruizing on the Sea of *Gnidos*, on the Coaſt of *Coos*, heard that *Mindarus*, the *Spartan* General, was gone towards the *Helleſpont* in Purſuit of the *Athenian* Fleet, he found them engaged near *Abydus*; but by his Cunning putting the Enemy to Flight, and taking about Thirty of the *Spartan* Ships, and recovering many of his own, and giving the entire and abſolute Victory to the *Athenians*, he ſet up a Trophy.

Alcibiades *reconciled to his Country.*

Out of the Spoils of this Victory *Alcibiades* carries Rich Preſents to *Tiſaphernes*; but the Treacherous *Barbarian* having been accuſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, as minding more the Counſel of *Alcibiades* than the King's Commands, ſeizes on him to clear himſelf of the Suſpicion. But *Alcibiades* found Means ſoon after to make his Eſcape, and to make a return to his Treachery, gave out that he was ſuffer'd to make his Eſcape by *Tiſaphernes*. Coming to the *Athenian* Fleet, he was inform'd by them that *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus* were together at *Cyzicum*: He perſwaded his Soldiers to attack the Enemy before their Proviſions were ſpent. Having thus encouraged his People, he ſail'd forward with Forty-three Rank'd Gallies, the reſt ſailing at a Diſtance behind him, by that Means bringing the Enemy to Battle; but when the Fight was begun, the reſt of the Fleet coming up, the *Spartans* were not able to

Alcibiades *ſeiz'd by* Tiſaphernes.

to ſtand the Shock; ſo making his Way through their Fleet, he lands his Men, with Boldneſs aſſaults *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus*, (who aſſiſted the Fleet from the Shore where his Army lay,) and killing *Mindarus*, he put *Pharnabazus* and his whole Army to Flight; and the *Athenians* won much Spoil, and took every one of their Ships, and taking *Cyzicum*, put every one of the *Spartans* found there to the Sword.

*Pharnabazus* ſoon recruited his Army, and falls upon that Part of the *Athenians*, who under *Thraſyllus* were ravaging the Country; but *Alcibiades* joining him, routed *Pharnabazus*, and purſued him till Night; and the next Day ſetting up a Trophy, he laid waſte all the Province under *Pharnabazus*, and returns to his Camp with abundance of Priſoners and great Spoils. His next Attempt was upon *Chalcedon*, which revolting from the *Athenians*, had admitted a *Spartan* Garriſon. But finding their Cattle and Corn, *&c.* were ſent into *Bithynia*, *Alcibiades* obliges them to ſurrender the whole Booty into his Hands, and enter into Alliance with *Athens*. Then turning to the Siege of *Chalcedon*, *Pharnabazus* coming to its Relief, falls on him on one Side, and *Hippocrates*, the *Spartan* Governour, ſallies on the other: *Alcibiades* dividing his Army, puts *Pharnabazus* to ſhameful Flight, and Kills *Hippocrates* on the Spot. After this, leaving part of his Army to carry on the Siege, he ſail'd into the *Helleſpont*, to raiſe Supplies of Money, and took the City of *Selybria* perfectly by his own Preſence of Mind and Induſtry; ſo taking a Sum of Money, he return'd to the Siege of *Chalcedon*; but the Beſiegers had in the mean time brought it to a Capitulation, by which *Pharnabazus* was to give a Sum of Money, and the City to receive an *Athenian* Garriſon; that *Pharnabazus* ſhould provide ſafe Conduct for the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors to the King; and that theſe Articles ſhould be ſworn to by both Generals.

*The Siege of Chalcedon.*

During theſe Tranſactions News comes that *Byzantium* was Revolted; on which, without the leaſt Delay, *Alcibiades* flies thither with his Army; and Beleaguering the Town on all Sides by Sea and Land, ſoon became Maſter of it, by the Conſent of *Anaxilaus*, taking 300 of the *Spartan* Garriſon Priſoners, not doing Prejudice to any *Byzantine*, according to his Agreement made with *Anaxilaus*. Having done all thoſe Glorious Things, and obtain'd all theſe Illuſtrious Victories, both by Sea and Land, he found in himſelf an earneſt Deſire of returning to his Country: So, without farther Delay, he ſets Sail,

*The Siege of Byzantium.*

*His Return into his Country.*

Sail, and ſoon arrived at *Athens*, with his Fleet laden with the Arms and Spoil of the Enemies. But returning from Exile, he would not land till *Euryptolemus*, his Nephew, and other Friends, had invited him aſhore, and he was received with ſo unanimous and general an Applauſe that Words are unable to expreſs the univerſal Joy. Going therefore into the Market-place, he made a Speech to the People, complaining modeſtly of his Sufferings, and putting them to the Account of his Fate, he copiouſly harangued upon the Actions he had done, and the Victories he had obtain'd. The People by Decree made him abſolute Commander by Sea and Land, crown'd him with Crowns of Gold, reſtored him his Eſtate, and had the Imprecations taken off by the *Eumolpides* and the holy Heralds. But before he went to his Command he met with an Opportunity of much Glory; for it was the Time of Celebrating the Feaſt of the *Eleuſin Ceres*: But the *Spartans* having Fortified and Garriſon'd *Declea*, the Paſſage to *Eleuſis* was not ſafe. But *Alcibiades* deſigning to lead the Sacred Troop through the midſt of the Enemies, placed Guards at convenient Diſtances, and Sentinels on the Mountains, made his Way with the Solemn Pomp, adorn'd and defended with Arms, and the holy Utenſils and Sacred Perſons, and return'd ſafe, unmoleſted and joyful, into the City when the Myſteries were perform'd.

*His Reception there.*

Theſe happy Events had raiſed his Pride to ſo inſufferable a Degree, that the Leading Men of the City at that Time, who were afraid of his Boldneſs and Ambition, preſs'd him to take what he thought neceſſary with him, and go immediately on his Expedition. Setting therefore Sail, he put the *Lacedæmonians* to Flight at *Andros*, but left the City untouch'd. This gave his Enemies an Handle for another Accuſation, that he would not take that Town when it was in his Power; never conſidering that he wanted Money, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were abundantly ſupply'd by *Cyrus*, King of *Perſia*: And he was forced to leave the Fleet to the Conduct of *Antiochus*, an Excellent Seaman, though Raſh and Inconſiderate, while he went into *Caria* to procure Money, charging *Antiochus* on no Account to engage the Enemy. But as ſoon as he was gone *Antiochus* ſeeks the *Spartans* out at *Epheſus*, and fights them, but is beaten by *Lyſander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral. For this he is accuſed by *Thraſybulus*; ſo that hearing that *Tydeus*, *Adimantus* and *Menander*, were made Generals in his Place, he retired into *Thrace* with a ſmall Squadron of Ships; where making

*He is again accuſed and diſplaced.*

king great Ravages, he enriched his Army. The *Athenian* Fleet after this being in the River *Ægos*, without any Military Diſcipline, as ſlighting the Enemy, whom they could not bring to a Fight, *Alcibiades* being not far from them, rode to them, and adviſed the Generals to remove to a more ſafe and convenient Station; but they deſpiſed his Advice, and ſpoke rudely to him: But *Lyſander* convinced them too late of the Value of his Advice, when falling on them on a ſudden, he took and ſunk all the Ships but Eight, which eſcaped with *Conon*. Soon after *Lyſander* takes *Athens* itſelf, burns all their Ships, and pulls down the long Wall. On this *Alcibiades* thinking no Place in *Greece* ſafe, fled into *Bythinia*, where being robb'd of great Treaſure, he deſigned to go to the King of *Perſia*, not doubting to engage him in his Cauſe if he could come to him. He therefore in order to it goes to *Pharnabazus*, by whom he is very civilly receiv'd: But the *Lacedæmonians*, tho' now Victors, dreading the Genius of *Alcibiades*, thought that *Athens* was not vanquiſhed till they had by ſome Means or other taken off *Alcibiades*; for as long as he was alive they believed he would be ſtirring up the People to ſomething or other for the Regaining their Liberty. They therefore write to *Pharnabazus* about it, who commits the Execution to *Mageus*, his Brother, and his Uncle *Suſamithres*, who finding him in a ſmall Village of *Phrygia* with his Miſtreſs *Timandra*, ſurrounded the Houſe with Soldiers, and not daring to enter it to attack him, ſet it on Fire; he throwing a great many Things on the Flames to ſtifle them, wrapping one Arm in his Cloak, taking his Sword in the other Hand, made his Way thro' them, who afraid to come within his Reach, kill'd him with their Arrows at a diſtance: And *Timandra* gave him as Honourable a Funeral as her Ability would admit; tho' ſome will not allow this Murther done by *Pharnabazus* and his Soldiers, but by ſome whoſe Siſter he had debauch'd.

Athens *taken.*

Alcibiades *his Death.*

# The LIFE of *Martius Coriolanus.*

*The Diſpoſition of Martius.*

THE Father of *Caius Martius* being dead, he had his Education under his Mother *Valumnia*, and from his very Childhood diſcover'd a mighty Inclination to Brave and Virtuous Actions; and even in his Childhood he began to handle Arms, and exerciſe his Body in all manner of Activity, and the different Ways of Encounter, that he grew extreamly ſwift to purſue, and ſo tenacious in holding his Enemy when ſeiz'd, that they could not get from him with much Eaſe.

His firſt Military Expedition, being then but Young, was in the laſt Effort made by *Tarquin the Proud*, when at his laſt Caſt he had got abundance of *Latins* and *Italians* together, and march'd againſt the *Romans*; when *Martius*, in the Preſence of the Dictator, reſcued a *Roman* ſtruck down by his Enemy, and kill'd the Aggreſſor. The General after the Victory crown'd him with an Oaken Garland, the *Roman* Reward of ſaving a Citizen. This ſo animated him, and fir'd his Deſire of reaping greater, that he became an Emulator of himſelf, ſo as being out of none of thoſe numerous Conflicts of thoſe Times, he never left the Field without reaping ſome freſh Lawrels. And that which pleaſed him moſt was, if he cou'd be crown'd with any of theſe Garlands in the Preſence of his Mother, or to have her embrace him thus with Tears of Joy, moved by whoſe Prayers he took a Wife.

*Crown'd with an Oaken Garland.*

About this time there aroſe a conſiderable Sedition betwixt the Rich and the Poor People, who ſuffer'd intolerable Grievances from the Uſurers. Hence proceeded very turbulent Complaints in the City, and the Patricians themſelves could not agree about the Matter; for moſt were for a mild Uſage of the Poor; others, in which Number was *Martius*, were for repreſſing and quelling thoſe by Force who had roſe in a tumultuous Manner againſt the Laws. This occaſion'd a frequent Meeting of the Senate, but without finding or coming to any Reſolution upon a Remedy for the Evil: ſo that the People,

*The Seceſſion of the People.*

People, tired with the Delay, went out of the City in a Body, and march'd up to the *Holy Mount*, on the other Side of the River *Anien*, exclaiming that the Rich had cast them out of *Rome*, and that therefore they would never again return into the City to sacrifice their Lives in fighting for the Rich. This Secession of the People gave the Fathers no small Fear, by whose Order *Menenius Agrippa* went to negotiate with them; and by a pleasing Fable representing their Mistake, and by a Grant of Five Protectors, who are called *Tribunes of the People*, the Matter was made up, and they chose for the first Two *Junius Brutus* and *Sicinius Vellutus*, the Authors of this Revolt. On the Union the People all follow'd their Officers with Zeal and Alacrity to the War; and *Martius*, tho' an Enemy to the Peoples Usurpations, as he thought it, on the Nobility, yet desir'd them not to let the People vanquish them likewise in their Zeal for their Country: For at this time the *Romans* were at War with the *Volscians*, and besieging Capital *Corioli*, under their Consul *Cominius*; the *Volscians* therefore getting an Auxiliary Army together, were coming to the Relief of the Town; *Cominius* therefore dividing his Army, led one Part against the Auxiliaries, and left the other under *Titus Lartius*, a valiant *Roman*, to carry on the Siege; but the Besieged made on him a vigorous Salley, and beat his Men back to their Ttenches; but *Martius* rallying, and exhorting them, fell on the *Volscians* with a loud Voice and terrible Countenance, and with a great Slaughter pursued them to the Gates, which he enter'd with a few chosen Followers, and by wonderful Valour kept it till the rest enter'd, and so master'd the Town of *Corioli*; and march'd thence immediately with as many as he cou'd win with the Hopes of Glory from the Plunder to the Consul, whom he came up with before the Engagement, but they seeing him besmear'd with Blood and Weary, were struck with Fear and Trouble; but he soon revived them by his Account of the Taking the City of *Corioli*, and gave them such Courage, that they entirely defeated the Auxiliaries: *Martius* engaging, by his Request, the *Antiates* with great Courage, and being by them very much wounded, he grew the more fierce, and taking many Prisoners, he routed and put them to flight, and pursued them half dead with Fear.

*Tribunes of the People made.*

*The Courage of Martius.*

The next Day the Consul spoke in the Praise of *Martius*, and as a Reward of his Valour presented him with a very Fine Horse, and granted him the Tenth of all the Spoils, Captives and Horse, before they were divided among the Army. He receiv'd the Consul's Praise,

and the Horſe with a great deal of Satisfaction, but declared he ſhould be ſufficiently pleaſed in coming into an equal Proportion and Share of the reſt with the othe *Romans* that had fought, and only deſired the Liberty of one of the *Volſcians*, his Friend and Acquaintance. While all were ſtruck with Admiration at the Greatneſs of his Mind, unconquerable by Riches, as much as by the Dangers and Hazards of the War, *Cominius* the Conſul thus ſpake to the Soldiers; *Since the Generoſity of the Soul of* Martius *has contemned Wealth and Riches, we will certainly beſtow that upon him which no Length of Time or Years ſhall deprive him of*; and ſo in Memory of his taking *Corioli*, gave him the Sirname of *Coriolanus*.

The War being now ended, the turbulent Men of *Rome* began new Seditions againſt the Rich Men, as if they in Revenge of the old Quarrel had purpoſely made Proviſions dear. In the midſt of this Diſpute the *Veletrani* ſent an Embaſſie to deſire a Colony of *Romans* to be ſent to their City, which was Nine Parts in Ten depopulated by a Contageous Diſtemper. This the wiſer Part thought a lucky Opportunity of putting an End to the Diſſention; ſo the Conſuls ſingle out ſuch a Number to ſupply the Deſolation of *Velitræ*, and order'd others to prepare to march again againſt the *Volſcians*. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus* found fault with this, as if the Poor People were ſent to periſh by the Plague in an unwholſome Air, and thoſe deſign'd for the War expoſed in an uſeleſs Quarrel of their own making; ſo that finding none appear to enrol themſelves, *Martius*, out of his Clients and Tenants, and ſuch as he could perſwade, made an Incurſion into the Country of the *Antiates*, and bringing thence much Corn and Cattle, and other Booty, thoſe that ſtaid behind repented; and tho' he kept nothing to himſelf, yet his great Actions and high Deportment drew on him the Envy of the People, as if his Glory tended to the Ruin of the People. But *Martius*, full of Courage, and being favour'd of the Senate, demands the Conſulſhip; but the whole Senate and Patrician Order attending him on the Day of Election, the People fearing to truſt him with ſuch a Power, leſt, averſe to them already, he ſhould make uſe of it to rob them of the little Power that was left them, they therefore rejected him, and choſe Two others immediately. The Senate took this very ill, but *Martius* could not bear it with any Patience.

About

About this time there arrived an Abundance of Corn in *Rome*, ſent a Free Gift by *Gelos*, King of *Sicily*, and part to be ſold: This it was hoped would put an End to the Differences; and on the Senate's Meeting on this Account, the People flock'd together to know the Reſult of this Debate, and an Anſwer to their Demands of having part divided among them for nothing, and the reſt ſold at an eaſier Price than formerly. Many of the graver Senators were for this Courſe, but *Martius* ſtood up and exhorted the Fathers to repreſs the Boldneſs of the People, and not always to give way to their contumacious Demands, unleſs they would make them give over all Obedience, and govern like the People of ſome of the *Greek* Cities. The Tribunes hearing him ſpeak after this manner, and divert the Senate from their intended Compliance, inform the People, and by their Order ſend their *Lictors* to cite him to appear and anſwer the Charge they had to make againſt him. He deſpiſed the Meſſage, nor would he obey the Summons. Then the Tribunes themſelves, and the *Ædiles* to Second them, went to ſeize him; and thence aroſe a Tumult, the Nobility joining, they reſcued him from their Hands, and Night put an End to the Fray. But the next Day the Conſuls ſummoning the Senate together, milder Methods are reſov'd on, which by the Conſuls is reported to them, which appeaſes the Multitude as to the Senate; but they ſtill inſiſt that *Martius* ſhould anſwer their Charge againſt him. He was at laſt perſwaded to appear; but when he ſpoke, and the People all ſilently liſten'd to his Diſcourſe, inſtead of Mildneſs, and Language to move Compaſſion, he rather accus'd and condemn'd them: So that the Multitude being all in a Rage, *Sicinius* pronounced Sentence of Death againſt him; but ſending to bear him to the *Tarpeian* Rock, he was defended by the Nobility, and the Tribunes brought to give him a fair Trial on the Head of his deſigning to bring in Arbitrary Power: But when he came into the *Forum* new Articles were brought againſt him, and that let fall; and tho' he clear'd himſelf of all, but his dividing the Spoils of *Antiates* among thoſe only that went on the Expedition, attempting to juſtifie that in their Rage the Noiſe of the People ſilenced him, and Sentence of perpetual Baniſhment is pronounced on him by the Tribunes. *His Baniſhment.*

The People triumph'd more on this than on any Victory, but the Nobility were all dejected; in *Martius* his Face only were no Marks of Sorrow: But going to

*He leaves Rome, and goes to the Antiates.*

comfort his Mother first, and then his Wife, he left the City. There was at this time in the City of *Antium*, *Tullus Aufidius*, a Nobleman of great Power, and who bore a great Hatred to *Rome*, and a greater to *Coriolanus*; but his Hatred to *Rome* made *Martius* in a Disguise go and apply himself to him; tells him the Cause of his Exile, plights his Faith, and promises to do all things against the *Romans*. *Tullus* is wonderfully pleas'd, gives him his Hand, and exhorts him to have great Hopes and Confidence in him and the *Volscians*. There was at this time a Truce for a Year betwixt the *Volscians* and *Romans*, and therefore the *Volscians* were to seek a Cause of Quarrel. And the *Antiates* being shamefully excluded from the Sight of the *Roman* Shows, which they came to see, *Tullus* takes holds of this Handle to exasperate the People against the *Romans:* The War being resolv'd, *Tullus* and *Martius* were declar'd Generals. But *Martius*, while other Things necessary for the Expedition were getting ready, enters the *Roman* Line with some Light-arm'd Men, and laying the Country far and wide all Waste, bore off so great Plunder, that all the *Volscian* Army did scarce suffice to bring it away. And the more to divide the *Romans*, he took care that the Lands of all the *Patricians* shou'd not be Touch'd or Invaded. *Martius* having perform'd this Piece of Service with such Success and Fidelity, *Tullus* commits the whole Army abroad to his Conduct, while he took Care of the City, promising him to take Care to supply him with all Necessaries.

*He is made Sole Commander in the Field.*

*Martius* being now reinforc'd, he marches to the City of *Circæum*, a Colony of the *Romans*, and has it surrender'd to him freely, and does them no Mischief. He goes next into the Country of the *Latins* *Roman* Confederates, in vain waiting and expecting Help from *Rome*, and takes the Cities of the *Tolerini*, *Vicani*, *Pedani*, and *Bolani*, plundering them, and selling the People to Slavery. The News of this Success arriving at *Antium*, the rest of the Soldiers repair to him, calling him only their General, and saying under him only they wou'd serve. All this, while nothing but Faction divided *Rome*, and no Thoughts of Fighting, till the News of the Siege of *Lavinium*, when the Commons Voting the Repeal of his Banishment, the Senate oppos'd it; the News of which made him quit the Siege of *Lavinium*, and march directly towards *Rome*, and Encamp'd at *Fossa Clælia*, Five Mile from the City. This near Approach was too terrible to suffer the Senate to stand any longer out against the Repeal of the Banishment of

*Martius.*

*Martius*. Ambaſſadors were ſent to him, who tho' old Friends, and intimate Acquaintance, were received with all the haughty Pride and Diſdain imaginable, and with Words that expreſs'd his bitter Reſentment of the Uſage he had met with from them: But as for the *Volſcians*, as their General, he cou'd admit no other Terms, but the Reſtitution of the City and Lands they had taken from them in the late War, and that they ſhould have the ſame Franchiſement and Rights at *Rome* as had been allow'd the *Latins*, and allowing them Thirty Days Time to conſider of, and anſwer the Propoſals, he march'd out of the *Roman* Territories.

*The Romans ſend Ambaſſadors to him.*

The *Volſcians* being diſguſted at this long Delay, grew very angry with his Conduct, pretending that he gave the Enemy ſo long a Ceſſation on purpoſe to let them have Time to put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence; and this was made the firſt Ground of Accuſation againſt him by *Tullus*, (piqu'd by his growing Power and Favour with the People, which drew all from him,) and the reſt of his Enemies. *Martius* in the mean while made War on the Allies of the *Romans*, and ſubdu'd Seven of their Cities; and then the appointed Day for the *Romans* Anſwer being come, he return'd into their Territories. To him then came Ambaſſadors, their Prieſts, Southſayers, and Prophets, (according to the Antient Cuſtom,) deſiring him to lay down his Arms, and quit the Country, aſſuring him that he ſhou'd obtain all his juſt and reaſonable Demands of the Senate. But he giving theſe all the ſame diſagreeable Anſwer, the City was fill'd with Fear and Rumours, and the People were all in a Tumult and Confuſion. *Valeria*, the Siſter of *Poplicola*, with other Matrons, went Suppliants to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and there, as inſpir'd by the God, *Valeria* engages them all to go in a Body to *Volumnia*, and *Vergilia*, the Mother and Wife of *Martius*: She begs them to fly to the Succour of their Country, now on the brink of Ruin; that they wou'd ſtop the falling Glory of their Native City, and take Care of all their Safety. They reply'd, that they were not without their ſhare of the Publick Calamity, and ſingular in their Domeſtick Misfortunes, as having loſt the Merits and Fame of *Martius*; but that whatever was in the Power of an unfortunate Wife and Mother they wou'd do. This being ſaid, *Volumnia* taking with her the Wife and Children, and as many as ſhe cou'd of the Matrons, went out to the Camp, whoſe mournful Habit and Appearance ſhock'd the Enemy with Reverence and Silence. *Martius* was not able to keep up his former Obſtinacy,

*His Piety to his Mother.*

ſtinacy, but ſoften'd by the Tears of his Wife and Mother, haſtily deſcended from his Seat to meet them, and embracing his Mother firſt, and then his Wife, ſuffer'd Nature to prevail. So ſending in for the *Volſcian* Council, he heard what his Mother had to ſay. But when to her Pathetick Speech he was mute, and ſeem'd inexorable, *Volumnia* preſs'd him again with freſh Reaſons, and adding to them Tears, and falling with his Wife and Children proſtrate before him, he lifted them up, and cry'd out, *You have overcome, Mother, you have gain'd a Victory happy for* Rome, *but deſtructive to me. I quit this Country, vanquiſh'd and driven away by you alone.* So after a little private Conference with them he ſent them back to *Rome*. The next Day he lead back his Army, againſt the Will of many preſent, tho' no Body appos'd it.

When he return'd to *Antium*, *Tullus*, who had a mortal Hatred to him, having with him ſeveral that had Conſpir'd his Death, order'd him to give an Account of what he had done, and lay down his Commiſſion. When he had reply'd, that as he receiv'd it from all the *Volſcians*, ſo on their common Command he wou'd Surrender it, and give an Account of his Actions; and when he attempted to ſpeak in the Aſſembly of the People, Summon'd for this End, the Noiſe and Clamours of the Seditious was ſo great, that there was no Way left for him to clear himſelf; but the Tumult encreaſing, and the People preſſing on, he is murdered on the Spot: But his Death was not alike agreeable to all the *Volſcians*, which is plain from this, that when his Funeral was Celebrated, great Numbers of People came together from all Parts, and his Sepulchre was honorably adorn'd with Arms and Spoils. The *Romans* on the News of his Death ſhew'd no Sign of Honour, nor Anger, but allow'd the Women, on their Requeſt, to mourn him for Ten Months, the utmoſt Time allow'd by the Laws of *Numa* for any Mourning.

*Martius is aſſaſſen'd in the Publick Aſſembly.*

## *The Compariſon of* Alcibiades *and* Coriolanus.

Having thus related their Lives, their Temper and Manners are now to be compar'd. Tho' *Alcibiades* had more Victories than *Martius*, yet in this they agreed, that their Preſence brought Victory and Succeſs, their Abſence Rout and Diſmay. The Flattery of *Alcibiades* is Condemn'd, and the Arrogance of *Martius*: Who being conſtant and free from all Vice, *Alcibiades* on the contrary was Cunning, Deſigning, and a wonderful Maſter of Deceit; and whoſe

Impo-

Impoſition on the *Lacedemonian* Ambaſſadors is very much condemn'd. It is objected to *Martius*, that being an Exile he was the Riſe of a cruel and bloody War between the *Romans* and *Volſcians*. And the Cauſe of *Martius* turning his Arms againſt his Country was baſer than that of *Alcibiades*, as being provok'd only by one Part of the Government, while the other was injur'd by the whole Body of the Commonwealth. *Martius* attack'd the whole City, and made himſelf ſo inexorable, and ſeem'd as if he wou'd not only not return to it, but deſign'd its Deſolation. But *Alcibiades* even in Exile may juſtly be ſaid to have done his Country more Service than Prejudice. This was too great a Slave to his Deſires, and ſquander'd on his Luſts what Money he extorted by Corruption. But the other was Conſtant, Juſt, of incorruptible Integrity, Abſtemious of Money even juſtly his own: But in Judgment he was Sharp and Arrogant; whoſe Moroſeneſs was condemn'd by his very Friends. But *Alcibiades* by his Complaiſance and Affability, won the Hearts of all he convers'd with, ſo that when he had brought great Calamities on the Commonwealth, he by his Affability wou'd get the Command with great Authority. But *Martius* demanding the Conſulſhip, which his Noble Actions and Merits deſerv'd, met with a Repulſe for his haughty Behaviour. But when he was the *Romans* General, he always did her Service, but never Prejudice. *Alcibiades* when General damag'd the State: Being preſent he vanquiſh'd his Adverſaries everywhere, but being abſent he fell by the Calumnies of his Enemies. The other when preſent was condemn'd by the *Romans*, and kill'd by the *Volſcians*; to whom it is objected, that he was mov'd more by the Tears of his Mother than the Prayers of his Country to lay down his Arms. *Alcibiades*, obſerving that the People were to be won and turn'd as he pleas'd, by Affability and Intreaty, apply'd himſelf to the Study and Obſervation of the Multitude, by which he was often receiv'd and adorn'd with great Honours, and being dejected, bore his Injuries with a more equal Mind. *Martius* either wilfully or unknowingly was very little complaiſant to thoſe who gratify'd his Ambition, and therefore bore his Injuries with the greater Inſolence. He was incorruptible by Money, and of a Life of the greater Integrity; in which he was much preferrable to *Alcibiades*, who was always ſick of Incontinence.

The

# The LIFE of *TIMOLEON.*

*The Family of* Timoleon.

*Timoleon* was a *Corinthian*, of a Noble Family, both by his Father *Timodemus* and his Mother *Demariſte*. His Elder Brother *Tomophanes* was of a much different Temper and Principle from him, as burning with an inextinguiſhable Deſire of the Tyranny. His intrepid Courage in Dangers recommended him ſo much to the People, that they made him their General; to which Dignity the Fraternal Love of *Timoleon* did not a little aſſiſt him to riſe, extolling his Virtues, and concealing his Vices from the Eyes of the People. In the *Corinthians* War againſt thoſe of *Argos*, and *Cleone* *Timophanes* being General of the Horſe, *Timoleon* commanded the Foot, and preſerv'd his Brother, and brought him off from the Enemy alive, when he was thrown off his Horſe among the Enemies, which *Timoleon* with much Difficulty, and a great many Wounds, drove away: The *Corinthians* again being afraid of the Force or Stratagem of their Enemies, made a Decree for the entertaining Four Hundred Strangers for their Security, and gave the Command of them to *Timophanes*. But he making Uſe of this Opportunity to gratifie his Ambition, ſet himſelf up for King or Tyrant of *Corinth*, to the unſpeakable Grief of *Timoleon*, thinking ſo wicked a Brother a Reproach to himſelf, endeavour'd ſeveral times to reclaim him himſelf; but that proving fruitleſs, taking with him *Æſchilus*, *Timophane*'s Wives Brother, and *Satyrus*, or *Orthagorus*, a Prophet or Diviner, and preſſing the Point earneſtly, and being ſtill repuls'd, while *Timoleon* turn'd to the Window and wept, the other Two with Eaſe diſpatch'd him. This Glorious Action, tho' infinitely applauded by all the Wiſe and Good, was yet malign'd by ſome that were fonder of cringing like Slaves to a Tyrant, than of the Liberty of a *Dimocracy*, which gave him ſome Trouble; but the Indignation wherewith his Mother reſented it, and treated him, broke his Reſolution, and gave him ſuch a Melancholly, as had made him reſolve

*His Brother* Timophanes *uſurps the Government of* Corinth.

Timophanes *is kill'd by his Conſent.*

reſolve to ſtarve himſelf; but prevented by a Friend, he retir'd from the Adminiſtration, and liv'd in perfect Solitude for Twenty Years together. But he was with Univerſal Applauſe choſen General in the *Sicilian* Expedition, to deliver *Syracuſe* from the inſupportable Tyranny of *Dionyſius*; and *Teleclides*, one of the firſt Power of *Corinth*, exhorting him to act like himſelf, ſays, *If you do bravely in this Expedition, all will believe that you deliver'd us from a Tyrant, if not, all will think that you kill'd your Brother.* While all things are getting ready for the Expedition, *Icetes* ſends Ambaſſadors to *Corinth* to tell them their Expedition wou'd be too late, a very numerous *Carthaginian* Fleet being ready to intercept them, with whom he had now engag'd to lend him all Aſſiſtance againſt *Dionyſius*.

*Choſen General of the Sicilian Expedition.*

The *Corinthians* ſlighting theſe Letters, order *Timoleon* to Sail away; when he arriv'd at *Delphos*, and deſcended into the Place of Prophecy, a Wreath Interwoven with Crowns, fell by Miracle from off the Conſecrated Gifts on his Head, as if *Apollo* Crown'd him even then with Succeſs; *Timoleon* pleas'd and encourag'd by this and other good Omens, paſt with his Seven *Corinthian*, Two *Corcyrean*, and one *Leucudian* Ships, with a proſperous Courſe, and arriv'd in *Italy*. There he had Intelligence that *Icetes* had driven *Dionyſius* from the City into the Caſtle, and that he was enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Carthaginians*. Tho' this News did not a little perplex *Timoleon*, yet he paſt to *Rhegium*, a Neuter City, where the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors came to him, and made it their Buſineſs as much as poſſible to diſſwade and deter him from proceeding any farther, but rather to retire in Time. But *Timoleon* holding them in Suſpence by an honeſt Fraud till his Ships were all got out, went privately from the Aſſembly, and getting Aboard his own, which ſtaid laſt, made all the Sail he cou'd, and reach'd *Tauromeniam*, and was there receiv'd kindly by *Andromachus*, the Chief Magiſtrate of that City, who Govern'd his People by Law, and hated Tyrants, who had formerly invited the *Corinthians* thither; he encourag'd his Citizens to join *Timoleon* in the Glorious Deſign of delivering *Sicily* from *Barbarians* and Tyranny.

*He Outwits the Carthaginians.*

*Syracuſe* at this Time was under great Diſtreſs, for *Icetes* was poſſeſs'd of the largeſt Part of the City, the *Carthaginians* of the Haven, and *Dionyſius* of the Citadel; ſo that they imagin'd that they had but little Reaſon to hope any Good from *Timoleon*, who had with him but One Thouſand Men; which from the ill Uſage they had found from

pretended

pretended Deliverers, made the other Cities rather content with their own Tyrants, than truſt to ſo ſmall and uncertain a Power for Relief. But the People of *Adranum*, (a ſmall City, Dedicated to the *Sicilian* God *Adranus*,) being divided among themſelves, one Part call'd in *Icetes*, the other *Timoleon*, and both made ſuch haſte that they arriv'd at the City much at the ſame Time. *Icetes* coming ſomething the foremoſt, he order'd his Soldiers, conſiſting of Five Thouſand Men, to refreſh themſelves, that they might be the more vigorous in the Onſet. *Timoleon* coming ſoon after with no more than One Thouſand Two Hundred Men, and underſtanding the State of the Enemy, exhorts his Men to take the Advantage, and fall on them heedleſs and unprepar'd by Sleep and Drink; which they putting in Execution with wonderful Boldneſs and Integrity, cut off Three Hundred of them on the Spot, took Six Hundred Priſoners, and put the reſt to a ſhameful Flight. On this Victory the *Adranitans* open'd their Gates to *Timoleon*, and receiv'd him and his Men into the City with all the Honours they cou'd pay him, and ſeveral other Cities willingly ſurrender'd themſelves into the Hands of *Timoleon*.

*He is call'd in by the People of* Adranum.

*He beats* Icetes, *and enters* Adranum.

The News of the Defeat of *Icetes* made *Dionyſius* reſolve to Surrender the Citadel rather to *Timoleon*, who had been Victorious. He therefore diſpatches away a Meſſenger to *Adranum*, to offer him the Citadel, Two Thouſand Soldiers, Arms for Seventy Thouſand Men, and all the Warlike Stores, on Condition that *Timoleon* wou'd give him his Honour for the Security of his Perſon. The Condition being accepted, *Timoleon* ſends Four Hundred with *Euclides* and *Telamachus*, *Corinthian* Captains, to take Poſſeſſion of the Citadel, and all that was in it, and ſent *Dionyſius* away for *Corinth*, where he ſate whole Days in Perfumers Shops, or ſquabbling with the greaſie Cooks, or with the common Harlots, or drinking in the Taverns, or pretending to teach Songs, *&c.*

*The Miſery of* Dionyſius.

Tho' the Fortune of *Dionyſius* was ſo Unlucky, that of *Timoleon* was as ſurprizingly Good, for in Fifty Days after his Landing he became Maſter of the Citadel of *Syracuſe*. On this *Icetes* redoubles his Vigour on the Siege, and hinder'd all Proviſions from coming by Sea to their Relief. He ſent Two Aſſaſſines to *Adranum* to diſpatch *Timoleon*, who at their Arrival was buſie in Sacrificing with the *Adranites*; but the Rogues coming into the Temple, preſs towards the Altar, when only waiting the Signal, one of them was cut down by a Third Perſon, who immediately fled to the top of a high Precipice, that was not eaſily acceſſible,

ſible, and the ſurviving *Aſſaſſine* laying hold of the Altar, begg'd his Life of *Timoleon*, promiſing that he wou'd confeſs the whole Matter, which obtain'd, he reveal'd the whole Villany of *Icetes*. The Perſon that was fled being now ſeiz'd, and brought towards *Timoleon*, cry'd out, that he had done no Man an Injury, but only kill'd the Murderer of his Father at *Leontium*; which being by ſeveral Witneſſes atteſted, the *Corinthians* ſatisfy'd with the Juſtneſs of the Fact, rewarded the Actor with about Thirty Pounds, becauſe his private juſt Indignation had oblig'd the good Genius of *Timoleon* by deferring the Execution to that fortunate Minute. This ſtrange Delivery made the People Reverence *Timoleon*, as a Perſon Holy, and the peculiar Care of the Gods. But *Icetes* finding no Succeſs attend his Endeavours, admits *Mago* with Sixty Thouſand Men into the City, who had a Fleet of Fifty Ships in the Haven.

*A Villany of Icetes miraculouſly prevented.*

The *Corinthians* in the Citadel were ſo ſtreighten'd for Proviſions, that they muſt have Surrender'd, had not *Timoleon* taken Care to ſupply them by ſtealth in little Floats by the Sea from *Catana*. This being obſerv'd by *Mago* and *Icetes*, it was agreed to fall on *Catana*, and take it, and ſo deprive them of that Relief, ſo taking with them the beſt of their Troops, they leave the Haven, and Sail directly to *Catana*. *Leo*, the Commander of the *Corinthian* Garriſon of the Citadel, then obſerving the Negligence of the Enemy in the City, made a Salley into it, and cut many to pieces, put others to flight, and made others ſurrender, and reduc'd into their Power that Part of the City call'd *Arcadina*, full of Stores and Proviſion of all Sorts, and ſurrounding it with a Wall, join'd it to the Citadel.

*Timoleon* in the mean while receiving Recruits from *Corinth*, marches with Four Thouſand Men directly for *Syracuſe*, which when *Mago* underſtood, as well as the Diſcourſes of his Mercenary *Greeks* as threatning a Deſertion, he was ſtruck with ſuch a pannick Fear, that not minding the Prayers and Intreaties of *Icetes*, he ſail'd with his whole Fleet to *Africa*. His Flight coming to *Timoleon*, was the Subject of Surprize and Laughter; but he march'd the next Day nearer to *Syracuſe*, and *Icetes* reſolving to ſtand it out, truſting to his Fortifications, *Timoleon* attack'd that Part of the City in Three Places at once with ſuch Vigour, that the Soldiers of *Icetes* being everywhere beaten, they took it by Storm. *Timoleon* being now in Poſſeſſion of the City, he demoliſh'd that beautiful and wonderful ſtrong Citadel, and on the Ty-

*Syracuſe taken.*

rants

rants Palaces and Monuments, as the Memorials, and Receptacles of Tyranny, built a Common Hall, or Court of Publick Judicature, and on the Ruins of Tyranny built a Commonwealth. But the City being almoſt diſpeopled by the Cruelty of the Tyrants, and the Havock of frequent War, *Timoleon* endeavour'd to Repeople it by a Colony from *Greece*, the recalling all the Exiles to *Sicily* from *Italy*, and *Aſia*, which he ſo effectually brought about, that the Numbers that reſorted thither amounted to above Threeſcore Thouſand Souls, beſides Ten Thouſand that came from *Greece*.

*The* Democracy *eſtabliſh'd.*

The Liberty of *Syracuſe* being Eſtabliſh'd, *Timoleon* deſiring to deliver all *Sicily* from Tyranny, oblig'd *Icetes* firſt to quit his Royalty, and live a private Perſon in *Leontium*, quitting his *Carthagenian* Intereſt, and demoliſhing all his Forts. He takes *Leptines*, who was Tyrant of many Towns, beſides his Capital *Appollonia*, and ſends him to *Corinth*. Then returning to *Syracuſe*, to aſſiſt *Pephalus* and *Dionyſius*, ſent from *Corinth* to make Laws, he ſent his Mercenaries, under the Command of *Dynarchus* and *Demarelus*, to make an Inroad into the *Carthaginian* Lines, who having won many Cities and Towns to revolt from *Carthage*, and got great Spoil and Riches to carry on the War, ſent Word to *Timoleon*, that the *Carthaginians* had landed Seventy Thouſand Men from Two Hundred Galleys, having with them a Thouſand Sail of Ships loaden with warlike Engines, Chariots and Proceſſions. The News of this Formidable Army coming to *Syracuſe*, ſtruck ſo great a Fear and Terror into all, that but Three Thouſand only ventur'd to join *Timoleon* with his Four Thouſand Mercenaries, One Thouſand of which Deſerted in the March, as thinking their Leader Mad to venture an Engagement of Seventy Thouſand with no more than Five Thouſand Foot, and One Thouſand Horſe. But *Timoleon* pleas'd to diſcover their Minds before the Battle, encourag'd the reſt perpetually with the hopes of Victory; warm with Confidence on their General, they come to the River *Crineſus*, (where the *Carthaginians* were,) and mounting a ſmall Hill near the River to view the Enemy, who were commanded by *Aſdrubal* and *Bomilear*, when from the Hills they obſerv'd the *Carthaginians* paſſing the Ford, he ſends *Dinarchus* with his Horſe to fall on them before they cou'd form themſelves in Order of Battle; and he deſcending into the Plain with the Foot, and giving the Word of Battle with a much louder Voice than common, he fell on them both in Front and Flank with ſuch Fury, that having kill'd Ten Thouſand on the Spot, he put the reſt

*His Victory over the* Carthaginians.

to

to flight, Heaven ſeeming, by ſending Storms of Thunder, Lightning, Hail and Rain, in the *Carthaginians* Faces, to fight for him. The Enemy being thus routed, he ſoon after took Poſſeſſion of the Camp, where ſo much Gold and Silver was found that all the other Plunder was not minded. There were Five Thouſand Priſoners brought into the Publick, beſides what had been privately Sold, and Two Hundred of the Chariots of War. One Thouſand Breaſt-plates wrought in Gold, and Fine Work, and Ten Thouſand Fine Bucklers, which were expos'd to View in the Tents of *Timoleon*. He ſent the moſt valuable of the Spoils, with an Account of the Victory, to *Corinth*.

Returning after this Victory to *Syracuſe*, he Baniſh'd the Thouſand Soldiers that baſely Deſerted him before the Battle out of *Sicily*, who were kill'd by the *Brutij*, after their Faith given; a due Reward of their former Treachery. *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*, and *Icetes*, fearing that *Timoleon* wou'd keep no Agreement with Tyrants, enter into a League with the *Carthaginians* about the ſame time the People of *Meſſina* deſtroy'd Four Hundred Strangers ſent by *Timoleon* to their Aſſiſtance, and the Mercenaries under *Euthymus* in the *Punick* Lines were cut off by an Ambuſh. Not terrify'd with theſe Misfortunes, while *Timoleon* march'd into *Calauria*, *Icetes* fell into the Confines and Dependencies of *Syracuſe*, whence returning with much Booty, he went by *Calauria*, in Contempt of the ſmall Forces *Timoleon* had with him; *Timoleon* let him paſs, then purſu'd him with his Horſe and light-arm'd Infantry; but he paſſing the River *Damyrias*, waited for him on the other Side; the Officers of *Timoleon* being ſo eager to engage him, ſtrove who ſhou'd give the firſt Onſet; but the Lot decided the Conteſt, and having paſt the River, they fell with ſuch Fury on the Enemy, that killing a Thouſand on the Spot, the reſt fled the Field; *Timoleon* then leads his Army againſt *Leontium*, taking which, *Icetes*, and his Son *Eupolemus*, with *Euthimus*, a Man of Courage, were made Priſoners, *Icetes* and his Son were Executed for Tyrants and Traytors, and *Euthymus* put to Death for Contemptuous Words on the *Corinthians*. Hence leading his Army againſt *Mamercus*, he routs him near *Catana*, killing Two Thouſand of his *Punick* Auxiliaries. *Catana* Surrendring, *Mamercus* fled to *Hippo*, Tyrant of *Meſſina*. *Timoleon* purſues him, beſieges *Meſſina*, whence the Tyrant and his Children endeavouring to make their Eſcape, was taken and kill'd by the Soldiers. And *Mamercus* ſurrendring himſelf, and unable to plead his Cauſe before

before the *Syracuſians*, or to knock out his own Brains, was Executed as a Thief or Robber.

Sicily *freed from Tyrants, and Poliſh'd by* Timoleon.

Things being thus compos'd, *Timoleon* Poliſh'd and Civiliz'd the whole Iſland, being perfectly Rude and Barbarous War, by the perpetual Vows; and Repleniſh'd the Two Noble Cities of *Agrigentum*, and *Gela*, made almoſt Deſolate by the *Carthaginians*; and Reduc'd the whole Iſle to Peace and Tranquility, with ſuch a Sweetneſs of Addreſs, that nothing ſeem'd well, or prudently done in the whole Country, unleſs it were directed by the Advice and Authority of *Timoleon*. Returning at laſt to *Syracuſe*, he exhorted the People that they ſhou'd preſerve that Beautiful Commonwealth he had juſt eſtabliſh'd by Union and Concord: So laying down his Command, he liv'd in the Houſe that the People had given him, as an Acknowledgment of his Merits; and ſending for his Wife and Children from *Corinth*, he retir'd with them to a moſt pleaſant Country *Villa*, another Preſent of the People, and there liv'd in a moſt agreeable Retreat. But *Liphiſtius* and *Demenetus* endeavour'd to abuſe the Ears of the People with an Accuſation of *Timoleon*; but the People riſing againſt the Accuſers in a Tumult, *Timoleon* himſelf oppos'd them, aſſuring them that the only Aim and Cauſe of all his Pains and Labour was to ſettle Liberty at *Syracuſe*, that no Man ſhou'd be above being accuſed; and reply'd to *Demenetus*, that he thank'd the Gods that he liv'd to ſee the *Syracuſians* ſo fix'd in their Liberty. He was therefore held in ſuch Veneration, that as often as any difficult Emergency aroſe they always conſulted *Timoleon* as the Oracle of *Apollo*: And having loſt his Sight, and born thro' the Market-place in his Litter to the Theatre, all the People call'd and ſaluted him their Deliverer, Preſerver, and the Father of their Country. He therefore dy'd in the midſt of the Love of the People, which giving the *Syracuſians* an univerſal Grief, they made his Monument in the midſt of the Market-place, where they repoſited his Aſhes with all the Pomp and Solemnity imaginable, expending from the Publick Stock about Six Hundred Twenty-five Pound in the Funeral. They likewiſe inſtituted in his Honour Games of Muſick, Horſe-races, and Publick Exerciſes, in Memory, that having driven *Barbarians* and Tyrants out of *Sicily*, he had reſtor'd to the City their wholeſome Laws, and re-eſtabliſh'd the Ancient Liberty of the whole Iſland.

# The LIFE of PELOPIDAS.

*Pelopidas* was a *Theban*, of an honourable Family, being the Son of *Hippoclus*, and Born and Bred in great Splendor and Riches, of which he was extreamly liberal to wanting Merit, proving by his Generosity that he was not the Slave of Money, but Money his Slave. Thus neglecting the Management of his Estate, that he might wholly apply himself to the Publick Service. And when his Friends told him that he neglected a very Necessary Affair, he reply'd, yes, very necessary indeed for this *Nicodemus*, pointing to a Blind Lame Fellow that was by.

*The Friendship of Pelopidas and Epaminondas.*

The Friendship betwixt him and *Epaminondas* was not Common, for their Unanimity and Likeness of Soul in the Pursuit of Virtuous Actions was so great, that allowing for the Refusal of *Epaminondas* to share the Wealth of *Pelopidas*, their mutual Love, Faith and Confidence in each other, through so many Fights, Commands, and Administrations of the Commonwealth, continued from the time they set out together to the End, firm and unshaken. The beginning of this extraordinary Friendship was at the Battle of *Mantinea*, where being with the *Theban* Auxiliaries, they both fought in the *Lacedemonian* Wing against the *Arcadians*; but the *Lacedemonians* giving Way, *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* with the *Thebans* confirm'd the Wing; in the midst of the Dispute *Pelopidas* having Seven Wounds in the fore-part of the Body, fell down among the Dead Bodies of the Enemies; and tho' *Epaminondas* believ'd him dead, yet he chose rather to die himself, than leave his Friend and his Arms as Spoils to the Foe; and fighting with great Bravery, and penetrating their Ranks, he receiv'd a Wound in his Arm, and a Dart in his Breast, when *Agesipolis*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, came from the other Wing to their Relief, and brought them both off, *Pelopidas* being yet alive.

After this *Phœbidas*, the *Spartan* General, invited by *Leontidas*, *Archias* and *Philip*, Men of the *Olygarchical* and *Spartan* Faction, ſeized the Caſtle of *Thebes*, called the *Cadmea*. The *Lacedæmonians* took away the Commiſſion of *Phœbidas*, and fined him One Hundred Thouſand Drachma's, but ſtill kept their Garriſon in the *Cadmea*; but oppreſſing the Commonwealth of *Thebes*, and giving the Supream Power to their Friends, they either put to Death or Baniſh'd the oppoſite Party. Among the latter was *Pelopidas*, a Youth not leſs Famous for his Prudence than Courage; who being at *Athens* with ſeveral other Exiles, watching an Opportunity of deſtroying the Tyranny, he ſo far encouraged the reſt to the Glorious Attempt, that the Reſolution being fix'd, he informs the Friends of the Deſign in *Thebes*, whom *Epaminondas* had animated by his Diſcourſes. The Number of the Generous Youths who durſt undertake this Bold and Noble Attempt was but Twelve, the Chief of which was *Pelopidas*. The better to conceal their Deſign and the End of their Journey, they left *Athens* in Riding Habits, with Hounds, Hunting-nets, and the like, as if they were going a Hunting. Thus equipp'd, ſending a Meſſenger before to *Charon*, they directed their Courſe to *Thebes*; towards the Evening they enter, in Clowns Habits, that City ſeveral Ways, and repair to the Houſe of *Charon*, and meet with the reſt of the Exiles, as was before agreed on. The whole Number of the Conſpirators for Liberty were but Forty-eight. This very Day, *Philidas*, conſcious of the whole Deſign, and who had got himſelf in to be Secretary to *Archias* and *Philip*, had invited them to an Entertainment, there with Drink and Whores, to make them the more fit to be deliver'd up to the Exiles. In the midſt of the Feaſt there was a Rumour ſpread that the Exiles were come, which made *Archias* ſend for *Charon* to come immediately to him: He informs them of the Meſſage, who all agree that he ſhould go without Delay; but before he went he brought in his Young Child from the Womens Apartment, and deliver'd him to them with this Deſire, that they ſhould put him to the moſt cruel Death if he was Treacherous; and tho' they would have had him return'd to the Nurſery, that he might live to revenge them, yet *Charon* would not, ſaying, *That he could never die more glorioufly than with his Father, and ſuch Companions.* *Charon* being come to *Archias*, found he had only ſome uncertain Rumours, which he, with *Philidas*, endeavour'd to diſperſe. But while *Philidas* is endeavouring to remove all Fear of that Nature, there

*The cunning Deſign of* Pelopidas.

there arrives a Letter from *Archias*, Pontifex of *Athens*, to *Archias*, one of the chief Governours of *Thebes*, which diſcover'd the whole Matter and Deſign of the Exiles, which the Bearer deliver'd to him, with a Deſire that he would immediately peruſe it; but he, too far engaged with the Bottle, clapt the Letter under his Pillow, and ſaid, *All ſerious Buſineſs we defer till to Morrow.*

*Charon* and *Melon*, with ſeveral other Conſpirators, came to the Houſe of *Philidas*, arm'd underneath, but dreſs'd outwardly in Womens Cloaths, and their Faces hid with Wreaths of Fir and Pine, and were received by the Company with wonderful Applauſe, taking them to be the Harlots that *Philidas* had promiſed them. Being thus admitted, they drew their Swords, and ſoon ſlew *Archias* and *Philip* amidſt their Tables and Bowls. *Pelopidas* and his Party had a harder Task againſt *Leontidas*, a Sober Man, and now in Bed; but being with much ado admitted into the Houſe by the incautious Servant, *Leontidas* getting out of Bed into the Paſſage or Door of his Chamber, ſtabb'd *Chephiſidorus*, and after a great Struggle with *Pelopidas*, fell by his Hands. From whence they went to *Hypates*, the laſt of the Governours, and purſuing him on his Flight, after they had in the ſame manner got into his Houſe, they kill'd him likewiſe. The Tyrants thus being ſlain, the People were ſummon'd together from all Parts to expel the *Lacedæmonians* out of the Caſtle; and the Confuſion of the Night being over, *Epaminondas* and *Gorgias* having aſſembled the People, introduced *Pelopidas* and his Aſſociates, crown'd by the Prieſts with Honourable Wreaths, when the whole Aſſembly riſing, received them as Benefactors and Deliverers of their Country. Then it was reſolved that there ſhou'd be an immediate Attack on the *Cadmea*, to prevent the Relief of it by the *Spartans*, whoſe Army, under *Cleombrotus*, the Garriſon, that had ſurrender'd on Conditions, met at *Megara*, marching to *Thebes*. The *Lacedæmonians* having an Account of all theſe Tranſactions, ſend a great Army to invade their Country; but *Pelopidas* in the Beginning being choſen General, everywhere oppoſed them, and from his Succeſs gain'd abundance of Glory. He at *Platea* vanquiſh'd and put them to Flight, and kill'd *Phœbidas*, that ſurpriz'd the *Cadmea*. And at *Tanagra* they put the *Spartans* to Flight, and kill'd *Panthaides*. He engaged the *Athenians* (who would ſend them no Aſſiſtance) by a Stratagem, perſwading the *Spartan* General *Sphodrias* to enter *Attica* by Night, and ſurprize the *Piræum*, as the moſt grateful Service he could do to the

*The Tyrants ſlain.*

*The Inroads of the* Spartans *into the* Theban *Territories.*

*Lacedæmonians*; but having advanced as far as *Eluſina*, his Soldiers Hearts failing them, they return'd to *Theſpia*. This Breach of the Peace by the *Spartans* made the *Athenians* ſupply the *Thebans*, and put to Sea againſt their Enemies in the *Peloponeſus*. Theſe Fortunate Succeſſes made the *Thebans* chuſe him every Year their Leader. But the Battle of *Tegura* won *Pelopidas* a great deal of Glory, no other Perſon having any Share in it, and the Victory ſo compleat, that it did admit of no Diſpute: For when he led his little Army to ſurprize *Orchomenum*, finding the *Spartan* Garriſon approaching, wheeling round the Hill, he march'd away; but at *Tegura* meeting above twice the Number, under *Gorgonius* and *Theopompus*, he Fought them, and put them to Flight, made a great Slaughter, (the Leader ſoon falling by *Pelopidas*,) they erect a Trophy, and return to the Camp laden with Spoils, after he had purſued the *Spartans* as far as with Prudence he could. Nor were the *Spartans* ever before Beat by an inferior, or even by an equal Number.

Not long after the *Spartans* making Peace with all the other *Grecians*, they turn'd their whole Force againſt the *Thebans*, ſending Ten Thouſand Foot and One Thouſand Horſe under their King *Cleombrotus*, threatning not Slavery, as before, but total Deſtruction. The *Thebans* being in a great Conſternation as *Pelopidas* left his Houſe and Wife all in Tears, begg'd him to take Care of himſelf; to whom he reply'd, *The Care of himſelf is the Buſineſs of a private Man; a General ought to take Care of others.* When he came into the Camp the Principal Officers were in a Diſpute where they ſhould give the Enemy Battle: *Epaminondas* was for fighting them at *Leuctra*, with whom *Pelopidas* agreed, having firſt ſacrificed a Red Colt in Compliance with his Viſion or Dream at the Sepulchre of the Daughters of *Sceda ſus*, raviſh'd in the Place of Battle formerly by ſome *Spartans*. *Epaminondas* giving the Onſet, and finding the Enemies Right Wing to ſtretch too far, turn'd himſelf with great Force and Vigour to Attack the Left, which the *Spartans* obſerving, extended their Right further, endeavouring to ſurround *Epaminondas* and his Men; when *Pelopidas* brought up the Sacred Cohort, with incredible Fury diſturb'd their Ranks, broke their Courage, and put them to Flight, and ſo quaſh'd their Pride and Loftineſs, that they never met with ſo great an Overthrow: By which *Pelopidas* got as much Reputation, though only at the Head of ſo ſmall a Band, as *Epominondas* did at the Head of the Army.

*A Generous Saying of* Pelopidas.

*They beat the* Spartans *at* Lenetra.

After

After this Victory *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* marching into the *Peloponeſus*, reduced not only *Elis*, *Argos*, and all *Arcadia*, but part of *Laconia* itſelf under the *Theban* Juriſdiction. But the Concluſion of their Magiſtracy being come, they would not ſurrender it, (tho' the Law made it Death to refuſe,) becauſe there was a Neceſſity for the Publick Good that they ſhould continue in their Poſts, while they were Beloved and Eſteem'd by all *Greece* for their Glorious Actions. The Envy of ſome of the Citizens could not bear their Glory, and therefore try'd them for their Lives for not ſurrendering their Command till Four Months after the limitted Time, in which they did all thoſe Memorable Actions in *Meſſenia*, *Arcadia* and *Laconia*; but they were both acquitted on their Trial. *Pelopidas* afterwards prevail'd with the People to Fine *Menaclides* for his Factious and Seditious Endeavours.

*Pelopidas and Epaminondas tried for their Lives and acquitted.*

When *Alexander*, the *Pheræan* Tyrant, invaded the *Theſſalians* both by Treachery and Force, the *Thebans* on their Requeſt of Help ſend them *Pelopides* for their General, who having put the Tyrant to Flight more by the Terrour of his Name, than any Battle; but endeavouring to bring the Tyrant to a lawful Dominion both by fair and foul Means in vain, *Alexander*, with his Guard, fled away; and ſo *Pelopidas* leaving the *Theſſalians* without Fear of the Tyrant, and united among themſelves, march'd into *Macedonia*, being ſent for both by *Ptolomy*, King of *Macedon*, and by *Alexander* himſelf, to adjuſt their Difference, and join againſt the Obſtinate. He reconciled them, and brought *Philip*, the King's Brother, and Three Hundred Noblemen, Hoſtages to *Thebes*, as a Proof of what the *Thebans* had gain'd by their Honeſty and Courage. After this the Affairs of *Macedon* being again in Confuſion by *Ptolomy*'s murdering the King, and uſurping the Throne, on the Deſire of the dead King's Friends he march'd again into that Kingdom. *Ptolomy*, afraid of the Glory and Terrour of his Name, comes to meet him in a Friendly Manner, and aſſures him that he only kept Poſſeſſion of the Throne for the Uſe of the King's Brothers. Thus compoſing Matters, he ſent *Philoxenus*, the Son of *Ptolomy*, and Fifty of his Friends, for Hoſtages of Performance to *Thebes*; whence he march'd with ſome *Theſſalians* to *Pharſalus*, to revenge himſelf on the Mercenaries, whom *Ptolomy* had corrupted: But *Alexander*, Tyrant of *Pheræa*, appear'd in the Neighbourhood, to whom *Pelopidas*, with ſome Friends, went unarm'd, ſuppoſing him to be come to make Satisfaction to the Complaints

of his Subjects; but he no ſooner ſaw *Pelopidas* and the reſt unarm'd, but he ſeiz'd them, throws them into Chains, and took Poſſeſſion of *Pharſalus*. The *Thebans* provok'd by theſe Injuries, ſend firſt Commanders againſt *Alexander*, who, being unskilful, did nothing; but then they ſent *Epiminondas* with an Army againſt him, who conſidering the Ferocity of his Temper, and that there was no Cruelty he had ever ſtuck at, (having buried ſome alive, and ſew'd others in Wild Beaſts Skins, and baited them to Death, ſummon'd the People of *Melibæa* and *Scotuſa* to an Aſſembly, and then ſurrounding them with his Guards, cut them to Pieces, and conſecrated the Spear that kill'd his Uncle *Polypron*, and adorning it with Wreaths, ador'd it as a God, calling it *Tychon*.) fearing that he might uſe the ſame Barbarity to *Pelopidas*, *Epaminondas* would not bring him to Deſpair by reducing him to Streights, allowing him Thirty Days to conſider, and coming then to an Agreement, ſet *Pelopidas* at Liberty.

*The Inhumanity of Alexander, Tyrant of Phærea.*

Pelopidas *goes Ambaſſador to* Perſia.

The *Spartans* and *Athenians* having ſent Embaſſies to the King of *Perſia* for Aſſiſtance, the *Thebans* ſent *Pelopidas* from their City to enter into Alliance with the Great King, who received him with greater Honour, Humanity and Reſpect, than he ever received any other. *Artaxerxes* added Many and Rich Preſents, and declared the *Thebans* Free and Independant, gave them the Town of *Meſſina*, and called them his Ancient *Greek* Friends. *Pelopidas* with a great deal of Reſpect refuſed the Rich Gifts, but return'd infinite Thanks for the Honour he had done him and his Country, and ſo return'd to *Thebes*, where he was received with all the Deſire and Applauſe imaginable.

While theſe Things were tranſacted, *Alexander* of *Phærea* returning again to his malignant Nature, ſeiz'd many of the *Theſſalians*, and put Garriſons on the *Pthiotæ*, *Achaians* and *Magneſians*: The Cities apply themſelves to *Thebes* for a Commander and Forces to do them Right, and deliver them from the Tyrant. The Day that *Pelopidas* was to ſet out of *Thebes* to their Relief the Sun was eclipſed, and the whole City darken'd. He took only with him Three Hundred Horſe, and, againſt the Perſwaſions of his Friends, went directly to *Pharſalus* at the Head of theſe Men and ſome *Theſſalians*; *Alexander* being inform'd that he was come but with a very ſlender Force, drew his Army out to engage him, and when it was ſaid to *Pelopidas*, that the Tyrant was near with a great Army, he reply'd, *Then we ſhall conquer the more.*

The

The Battle being begun, and the Enemy put in great Diſorder, *Pelopidas* ſeeing the Tyrant rallying them, full of Indignation preſſes upon him; but he ſculk'd among his Guards, nor durſt venture the Encounter. *Pelopidas* bearing down the Guards on every Side, was by Number of Darts thrown at him at laſt beat down. The Foot on the Hill ſeeing his Diſtreſs, ruſh down, and put the whole *Phalanx* to the Rout, but overcame too late to ſave his Life; they kill'd above Three Thouſand on the Spot, covering the Field with dead Bodies and Arms. But *Pelopidas* being dead, the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, and all the reſt of the Army diſcover'd an uncommon Love and Grief; for cutting off their own Hair, and the Manes of their Horſes, pulling off their Bridles, and not ſo much as binding up their Wounds, throwing down their Arms, lighting no Fires, nor receiving any Food to refreſh them, they remain'd all drown'd in Sorrow, and ſeem'd rather conquer'd by the Tyrant to Slavery, than Conquerors of the Tyrant. The *Theſſalians* obtain'd Leave of *Thebes* to Bury him, which they did with all the Teſtimonies of Love and Reſpect, crowning him with Crowns of Gold, and erecting Brazen Statues to him, as one that had left an unſpeakable Deſire of himſelf to all *Greece*.

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# The LIFE of *MARCELLUS*.

THE Fame and Reputation of *Marcellus* was very conſiderable in *Rome*, even in his Youth; for being very martial, he was ſtrenuous of Body and Hand, and always Famous for the ſingle Combate, in which he always vanquiſhed, and ſlew his Adverſary. He brought Relief and freed his Brother *Oracilius* in very great Danger in *Sicily*, killing all thoſe who preſs'd cloſe upon him. For which Action he was Crown'd by the Generals, and received the *Ædileſhip* from the People; and was made Augur by the Prieſts. In his *Ædileſhip* he was obliged to ſign an Accuſation in the Senate againſt his Collegue *Capitolinus* for attempting

to corrupt his Son to his Brutal Desires. There being no Evidence of the Crime but the Boy, who had told his Father of it, he was summoned to the Senate, and blushing with Shame and Indignation at the sight of *Capitolinus*, the Senate took those Natural Indications as sufficient Testimony, and Fine the Offender in a considerable Sum of Money; of which *Marcellus* caused a Silver Table to be Made, and Dedicated to the Gods.

The *Iberi* (Inhabitants of the Subalpine Parts of *Italy*) having gathered together great Numbers of Mercenaries, call'd (from their great heavy *Javelins*) *Gesatæ*, attempting to invade *Italy*, *Marcellus* being by the *Interreges* created *Consul*, chose one *Cornelius* for his Collegue; and tho' the *Gauls* were negotiating Peace, and the Senate seem'd inclinable to the Motion, yet *Marcellus* excited with all his Force and Power the People to the War with the *Gesatæ*; but their King *Viridomar* or *Britomar* passing the *Alps*, engages the *Insubres* to join him with 30000 Men, his Forces being much more numerous, and march to the City of *Acerræ* on the Banks of the *Po*; and taking with him Ten Thousand Men, passing that River wastes all the Country about. *Marcellus* having Intelligence of this, leaving the Main of his Army with his Collegue before *Acerræ*, taking with him Two Thirds of the Horse, and 600 Light Armed Foot, by a continual March Night and Day he got to *Lapidium*, or *Clastidium*, a Village of *Gaul*, not long before subject to the *Romans*; and while now he is leading and exhorting his Men against the Foe, his Horse, frighted by their Shouts turn'd back, but to avoid the ill Omen, and encourage his Men, he wheel'd about, and ador'd the Sun, the *Romans* always adoring in a Circle, and vow'd to *Feretrian Jove* the *Opime Spoils*. As soon as *Viridomar* had discover'd him, he sets Spurs to his Horse, and bore with great Fury against him. The King was very Tall and Large, adorn'd with Gold and Silver Armour, and as soon as *Marcellus* perceiv'd him, he met him with equal Fury, and thrusting his Spear through him, bore him from his Horse, and with Two or Three other Wounds put an End to his Life. The King being slain, the whole Army was soon after put to flight. *Marcellus* having got this Victory, and plunder'd the Enemies Camp, made haste back to his Collegue with all the Spoils and Plunder; whom he found as it were Besieg'd by the Besieged *Gauls* of *Milan*, (the Noblest and most Populous City of the *Cisalpine Gauls*;) but when the *Gesatæ* heard the News of the Death of their King, Defeat of their Army, and the March of the *Roman* General towards them, they fled away with pannick Fear, leaving

*Viridomar King of the Gauls, killed by Marcellus.*

*He takes Milan.*

leaving all their Ammunition, and Baggage behind them. This Army being thus put to flight, *Marcellus* took Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, and having put all Things in order, the *Gauls* having ſurrender'd all their Fortify'd Places to obtain Peace, it was granted them; and for theſe Actions the Triumph was only allowed to *Marcellus*.

When *Hannibal* made his Irruption into *Italy*, *Marcellus* being ſent with a Fleet into *Sicily*, hearing of the Slaughter of the *Romans* at *Cannas*, ſent Fifteen Hundred of the Men belonging to the Fleet to guard the City, expecting *Hannibal* ſhou'd direct his Courſe that Way. Then by the Senate's Decree, gathering what Force he cou'd to ſtop the *Carthaginians* ravaging the Country, he marched to *Canuſium*. In the mean while he and *Fabius Maximus* are again choſen *Conſuls*, that his Fire might qualifie the Cunctation of *Fabius*, for he was called the Sword, and *Fabius* the Buckler, of *Rome*. And *Hannibal* was often us'd to ſay, that he fear'd *Fabius* as a Schoolmaſter, and *Marcellus* as an Adverſary. The *Carthaginians* being proud of this great Victory, plunder'd the Country far and near with great Licentiouſneſs and Cruelty; but *Marcellus* obſerving them ſcatter'd about without any manner of Order, falls upon them, deſtroying many, and cutting off great Numbers, being loaden with Prey and Plunder, thence he marches to the Relief of the *Neopolitans*, and *Nolans*, confirming the former in that Fidelity he found in them; but entring *Nola*, he found the Senate and People at Variance, the latter being much inclin'd and influenc'd by *Bantius* or *Blandius* to the Side of *Hannibal*. But *Marcellus* remembring the Service he had done, and that he was found among the Slain by *Hannibal*, and recover'd, and made his Friend, took no notice of his ſiding with him, but ſeeing him, ask'd who he was? *Bantius* having told him, *Marcellus* ſeem'd extreamly pleaſed, and ſurpriz'd with Wonder. 'What, are you that *Bantius* (ſaid he) whoſe Praiſe 'is ſo extraordinary at *Rome*, not only for not forſaking the 'Conſul *Æmilius*, but for receiving ſome Wounds for him? *Bantius* owning himſelf the Man; 'why then (ſaid *Marcellus*) 'came you not out firſt to me? Think you that I am ſo 'negligent of ſo much Merit, as draws Admiration and 'Eſteem from our Enemies? By this means he won him to the *Roman* Cauſe, and put an End to *Hannibal*'s Intereſt in *Nola*. As ſoon as *Hannibal* had Information that *Marcellus* had won the *Nolans* from his Intereſt, he advanced with his Army to that City; but *Marcellus* ſalleying out at Three Gates, and ſucceſſively at Three times, firſt taught *Hannibal* to turn his Back, and fly from his Enemy; for *Marcellus* la-

Bantius.

Hannibal *flies before him at No-*

*Marcellus* having ſlain Five Thouſand of his Men, forced him into his Camp, but of the *Romans* no more than Five Hundred fell; one of the Conſuls now dying, *Marcellus* is choſen in his Room; but when the *Augurs* had foretold no happy Event at the Choice, he voluntarily abdicated the Conſulſhip; but being made Proconſul, he returned to *Nola*, and waſted the Lands of the Heads of the *Carthaginian* Faction, which bringing *Hannibal* to their Reſcue, *Marcellus* declined a Set Battle, but fell on him while his Parties were abroad and plundering, kill'd Five Thouſand of his Men and Two Elephants, and took Two alive.

*The War of Sicily.* About this time *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuſe* (a *Roman Ally*) being dead, the *Carthaginians* caſt their Eyes on *Sicily*; but *Marcellus* being choſen the Third time Conſul, is ſent thither. And while he was receiving the Army ſent thither under *Appius*, the Multitudes of the *Roman* Soldiers that had fled from the Battel of *Cannæ*, and were baniſhed into *Sicily*, came ſuppliant to *Marcellus*, and on their Knees, with Tears in their Eyes, beg to be readmitted into the Honourable Order of Soldiers. He wrote Letters in their Behalf to the Senate, but cou'd obtain no more but that he might liſt them if he pleas'd, but muſt beſtow no Wreaths or Military Honours upon them as a Reward of their Courage. *The Revolt of Syracuſe.* News is brought in the mean time to *Marcellus* that *Syracuſe* by the Contrivance of *Hippocrates* was revolted, and the Tyranny ſeized by him; when *Marcellus* approached the Town, he ſent Ambaſſadors in to perſwade the Principal People to remain ſtedfaſt in their Fidelity to the *Romans*; but this producing no Effect, by reaſon that *Hippocrates* govern'd all within, he laid cloſe Siege to the City both by Land and Sea, which ſtrook ſuch a Terror into the *Syracuſians*, that they had no Hopes of withſtanding ſo great a Force. *Archimedes.* But the Machines and Warlike Inſtruments of *Archimedes* by their wonderful Effects reviv'd their drooping Spirits for a while. For he had formed ſeveral Sorts of Warlike Engines, which caſt out vaſt Stones of incredible bigneſs, and with a mighty Noiſe on the *Romans*, which made a great Slaughter of, and diſpatched the Land Forces; nor were they leſs deſtructive to the Naval Armament, lifting up the Ships with all the Men, and ſhaking them out, and daſhing them to pieces. Theſe Engines were ſo numerous and dangerous, that no Body cou'd defend themſelves againſt them, while they made ſo a great a Slaughter of Men, both in the overturning the Ships, and on the Shore; ſo that *Archimides* alone render'd both himſelf and City invincible. Theſe irreſiſtible Engines made the *Romans* keep farther off,

off, and turn the Siege into a Blockade, hoping from Time what they cou'd not obtain by Force. *Marcellus* in the mean time takes *Megara* by Aſſault, routs the Army of *Hippocrates*, killing Eight Thouſand on the Spot. He run over all *Sicily*, and took many Towns from the *Carthaginians*, and vanquiſhed all that durſt oppoſe him. During the Blockade one *Damateus* or *Damaſippus*, a *Spartan*, putting to Sea from *Syracuſe* was taken by the *Romans*. The *Syracuſians* having a great Deſire to Ranſom him, often treated with *Marcellus* under the Walls about it, where obſerving a Tower but very ill guarded, he takes Poſſeſſion of it in the Night, and fills the Walls with Armed Men, and at Day-break forc'd open the *Hexapilum*, or Place with Six Gates, ſounding the Trumpets; the Citizens diſſipated, and flying away in Confuſion, he took the Town; viewing which from the higher Places, he wept in Commiſeration of the Miſery it was to ſuffer, tho' he had as much as poſſible reſtrain'd the Licenſe of that Plunder which he cou'd not deny the Soldiers who demanded it, tho' he granted it with the utmoſt Reluctance, forbidding all Violence to any one that was free, either Man or Woman. That which gave him yet more Grief was the Death of *Archimedes*, whom he much deſired to have ſeen alive, and who had by his Art been ſo terrible both to his Soldiers and himſelf. He always hated the Author of his Death, and paid peculiar Honour to his Friends, and Relations, and thus ſhow'd the *Græcians* that the *Romans* were not only remarkable for Valour, Strength and Terror, but for Juſtice and Humanity. For he behaved himſelf with that Gentleneſs and Humanity to all the Cities he took, as well as particular private Men, that the Sufferings of the *Ætneaſians*, *Megarenſians*, and *Syracuſians*, ſeem more the Effect of their own Faults, than of thoſe who brought them upon them. *Syracuſe* being thus ſubdued and plundered, and *Marcellus* call'd home to a Domeſtick War, he carried with him abundance of the fineſt Statues of that City to be an Ornament to his Triumph, and to *Rome* itſelf, where Sculpture was not till then of any Reputation. But being denied a Triumph by the Malice of his Enviers, he entred the City in *Ovation*, the Flutes playing, but no Trumpets ſounding before him.

Syracuſe *taken.*

When *Marcellus* was choſen the Fourth time Conſul, the *Syracuſians*, ſuborn'd by his Enemies, ſend to *Rome* to complain of, and accuſe him of making them ſuffer hoſtile Wrong, contrary to the League and Treaty: But *Marcellus* leaving it to the Senate, they acquitted him. But moved

ved by the Prayers and Tears of the *Syracuſians* Agents, he not only forgave them, but took them into his Protection. On which thoſe of *Syracuſe* made a Decree, that whenever *Marcellus*, or any of his Poſterity, came into *Sicily*, the *Syracuſians* ſhould offer Sacrifice to the Gods with Crowns on their Heads. The Cunctation of *Fabius*, after the Slaughter at *Cannæ*, was grown a Maxim among all the Roman Generals that were ſent againſt *Hannibal*, and they fear'd ever venturing to give him Battel till *Marcellus* fought him often, always, either on equal Terms, or with Advantage. Being now Proconſul, he agreed with *Fabius Maximus*, that whilſt he Beſieg'd the *Tarentines* he would go in Purſuit of *Hannibal*, and hinder him from coming to their Relief. *Marcellus* came up with him at *Canuſium*, and follow'd his Motions in his often ſhifting his Camps, to endeavour to bring him to a Battel, which *Hannibal* always avoided. At laſt by Preſſing upon him, or Encamping, he brought them to a Battel, which Night ended in the midſt of the Conflict. The next Day renewing the Fight, by the Diſorder of ſome of the Legions *Marcellus* was fain to retire to his Camp with the Loſs of Two Thouſand Seven Hundred Men. The next Morning again the Fight was renewed, and after a Hard and Doubtful Fight the *Cathaginians* gave Way, and were purſu'd by the *Romans* to their very Camp, leaving above Eight Thouſand Dead on the Spot; of the *Romans* Three Thouſand were ſlain, and almoſt all wounded. The *Cathaginians* in the Night got farther from him: And *Marcellus* by Gentle Marches came into *Campania*, there to lodge his Harraſs'd Army in Houſes during the Hot Seaſon; and *Hannibal*, now out of his Reach, plunder'd and laid waſte many Parts of *Italy*. On this his Enemies, with *Bibulus*, Tribune of the People, drew up an Accuſation againſt him, which he anſwering, he was abſolv'd by the People, and choſen the Fifth time Conſul, when he pacify'd a great Commotion in *Hetruria*, now ready to fall off to the Enemy. This being done, his whole Wiſhes and Deſires were to Fight a Battle with *Hannibal*, and to take him in Fight: And finding him between the Cities of *Bourtia* and *Venuſia* in *Apulia*, he did all he cou'd to engage him; but *Hannibal* thought it not ſafe to commit all to ſuch an Hazard; but having Intelligence that there were ſome Companies of Foot ſent to the *Locrians*, and the *Epizephyrians*, placing an Ambuſcade under a little Hill, cut off Two Thouſand Five Hundred of them; which ſo much enraged *Marcellus* with Anger and Indignation, that he mov'd his Camp nearer to *Hannibal*'s. There was a ſmall Hill betwixt the

*He fights and beats* Hannibal.

Two

Two Camps full of Wood, and Rivulets falling down from above, and Watch-Towers over-looking both Sides. *Hannibal* thinking this Place fitter for an Ambuſcade than a Camp, placed his Men among the Woods, believing that the Commodiouſneſs of the Place would invite the *Romans* to it. *Marcellus* apprehenſive of ſome Fraud, offer'd Sacrifice; but though nothing appear'd promiſing, yet he would take a View of the Place; ſo taking his Collegue *Criſpinus* and his Son, a Tribune, [or *Colonel*,] of the Soldiers with him, attended with about 225 Soldiers, all but Forty *Fregellans*, being *Tuſcans*. A Sentinel, ſo plac'd as that he could ſee the *Roman* Camp without being ſeen, gives the *Carthaginians* notice of the Approach of *Marcellus* and his Party, who being now entred, they all at once ſalley, and ſurrounding, fall on them, caſting their Darts at thoſe who fled, and fighting thoſe that ſtood their ground. *Criſpinus* being wounded with Two Darts, turning his Horſe about, fled to the Camp; but *Marcellus* being pierced with a Spear with a Broad Head, fell to the Ground; and then the *Fregellans* made away likewiſe to the Camp with his Wounded Son. There were about Forty of the *Romans* kill'd, and about 20 taken Priſoners. *The Death of* Marcellus.

*Hannibal* hearing of the Death of *Marcellus* made all the haſte he could to the Place, and viewing the Beauty, Form, Strength, and Proportion of the Body, he diſcover'd not the leaſt Sign of Joy or Pride; but wondring at the Indignity of his Fate, he order'd his Body to be honourably Burnt, and his Aſhes to be put into a Silver Urn, and ſent to his Son.

## *The Compariſon of* Pelopidas *and* Marcellus.

Though the Temper, Inclinations and Manners, of theſe Two Great Men were not unlike, both being Men of Courage, Diligence, Daring, Haughtineſs, yet *Marcellus* in all, or moſt, of the Towns he took committed great Slaughters, *Pelopidas* none, never invading the Liberties of any. The Deeds of *Marcellus* againſt the *Gauls* were wonderful, defeating with a ſmall Number of Horſe great Numbers of Horſe and Foot, and ſlew the King of the *Geſatæ*; *Pelopidas* aim'd at the like Honour in vain, being ſlain by the Tyrant. *Marcellus* never did any Thing by Treachery or Stratagem; *Pelopidas* kill'd the Tyrants, and deliver'd *Thebes* by it. The *Lacedemonians* were *Hannibal* to *Thebes*, *Pelopidas* beat them at *Leuctra* and *Tegura*; but then he ſhar'd his Glory with *Epaminondas* in thoſe Two Battles:

But

But *Marcellus* took *Syracuſe*, beat the *Gauls*, kill'd their King, and routed *Hannibal*, without any Companion or Rival in his Glory. *Pelopidas* was never overcome in any Battel; *Marcellus* in very few Encounters. *Marcellus* took *Syracuſe*, but *Pelopidas* was diſappointed intaking *Lacedæmon*. The Deaths of both theſe Great Men are not to be commended, yet that of *Pelopidas* moſt excuſeable. He in the Tranſport of Paſſion, and Heat of Battle, threw away his Life, but *Marcellus* in doing the Part of a Scout, not a General. The Friends, for whom *Pelopidas* fought, made his Funeral, but the Enemies that kill'd him, made one for *Marcellus*.

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# The LIFE of *ARISTIDES*.

*The Parentage of Ariſtides.*

*Ariſtides* was the Son of *Lyſimachus*, and of the Tribe of *Antiochis*, and the Borough of *Alopoce*. But there is no little Difference betwixt Writers whether his Fortune were plentiful or narrow. Though he was bred up at the ſame Time and Place with *Themiſtocles*, yet was extreamly unlike him. *Themiſtocles* was ready, ſubtil, bold, and daring, ſoon and eaſily borne away to any Thing: *Ariſtides* was conſtant, quiet, and averſe to all Lies and Falſhood, ſeverely Juſt in all his Thoughts and Actions. But beſides a Sort of Oppoſition in Nature, it is reported that a Rivalſhip in Love added very conſiderably, if it gave not riſe, to the Breach betwixt them, both being deſperately in Love with the Wonderful Beauty of *Steſiſlaus* of *Lea*: Add to this the Zeal of Parties, *Ariſtides* for the *Ariſtocratical*, and *Themiſtocles* for the *Popular* Form of Goverment. *Ariſtides* to win the Hearts of all did Injury to none, or ever preferr'd any Motion or Point that cou'd bring the leaſt Grief or Sorrow to any one; but it was his Opinion that every Honeſt Man ſhould defend his Fair Actions by a Juſt and Right Diſcourſe. *Themiſtocles* made many Efforts to break or leſſen his Power. Their Conteſts were ſo frequent, that *Ariſtides* once openly declar'd, that the only Way for the *Athenians* to preſerve their State, was to ſend both

both *Themiſtocles* and himſelf to the *Barathrum*, or Publick Priſon. In all his Addreſſes he chiefly regarded the Publick Good; for when he was likely ſometimes to carry his Point, yet finding by the Debate that it would prove inconvenient, he let it fall; and that *Themiſtocles* by oppoſing might not obſtruct the Publick Good, he made his Motions, and brought in his Bills by another. No Acceſſion, or Loſs of Dignity, made the leaſt Alteration in him, but conſtant in all the Viciſſitudes of Civil Affairs; he applied himſelf to the Publick, not only without any Mercenary Aims, but alſo without the Ambition of Glory. He was likewiſe a Violent Aſſertor of Equity and Juſtice, and a Zealous Devote to Honour; thus when the Judges on his Accuſing a certain Perſon were going to paſs Sentence upon him, *Ariſtides* ſtood up and deſired that the Accuſed might have the Benefit of the Law, in being heard as well as his Accuſer. And being Judge betwixt Two Parties, one of them told him of the Abuſes his Adverſary had given *Ariſtides* himſelf; *Hold Friend*, ſaid he, *I am judging thy Cauſe, not my own.* When he was Treaſurer he made it appear that *Themiſtocles*, and other preceding Officers, had diverted much of the Publick Money to their own Private Uſe. The Accuſed reſenting this Conduct by a Falſe Information againſt him, convict him of Embezzelling the Publick Treaſure; which the Principal Citizens reſenting, not only remitted the Fine, but choſe him again to the ſame Office; in which he purſued another Conduct than formerly, by not detecting the Robbers of the Treaſury, but ſuffering them to go on without Notice; nor call'd the Guilty, in that Particnlar, to any Account, which gain'd him the Unanimous Applauſe of all. But being again propos'd to be choſen Treaſurer by the Intereſt of thoſe concern'd in Robbing the Publick, he reprov'd the *Athenians*, ſaying, *When I diſcharged my Office juſtly*, Athenians, *I was proſecuted and fin'd, but now I wink at the Robbers of the Revenue I am applauded as a great Patriot; this Honour I am more aſham'd of than the former Unjuſt Sentence, being heartily concern'd for the Deſperate State of your Condition, from whom the Gratification of Ill Men meets more Praiſe than the Preſervation of the Publick.* And thus inveighing with great Zeal againſt theſe Publick Thefts, he gain'd a great deal of Praiſe and Applauſe to his Integrity. Another Illuſtrious Argument of his Vertue was at the Battle of *Marathon*, where fighting bravely by *Themiſtocles*, he reliev'd the Tribes of *Leontis* and *Antiochis*, of which they Two were, and put the Barbarians to Flight: But when all the other Tribes were oblig'd to repair to *Athens* for fear the *Perſians* ſhould aſſault

*He is Fin'd.*

*His Continence.*

assault it, *Aristides* with his Tribe was left to guard the Plunder and Captives, among which was great Abundance of Gold, Jewels, Rich Robes, *&c.* left by the *Barbarians* in the Tents and Ships, he would not touch the least Thing himself, or suffer any other to do it, unless they did it by Stealth, as in the Affair of *Callias*. Soon after this *Aristides* was made *Archon*.

His Justice and Equity were the Vertues that of all other made the most Impression on the People, whence, though of mean Extraction and Fortune, he attain'd the Royal Sirname of *Just*, which was never given to any Man before him. But this rais'd Envy to attack him, as *Themistocles* did by insinuating to the People, that by judging all himself he tacitly claim'd the Monarchy without any Guards to protect him. This stir'd up a People jealous of Liberty to banish him by *Ostracism*, as the Effect of his Aspiring to the Tyranny, not of Envy of his Enemies. When a Fellow gave him his Shell to inscribe *Aristides* upon it, he ask'd him what Injury he had done him? *None at all*, reply'd the Fellow; *nor do I know him, but I am very much concern'd to hear everywhere that he is a* Just Man. Then without more ado he went into Exile; but as he left the City he look'd back and pray'd *That* Athenes *might have no Cause to remember him with Regret*. But about Three Years after he was recall'd, when *Xerxes* with an Innumerable Army invaded *Attica*. *Aristides* being return'd, that their former Disputes and Enmities shou'd not be prejudicial to the Safety of *Greece*, he made an Agreement with *Themistocles* that all former Injuries of both Sides should be entirely forgotten; and that they should not shrink at any Dangers till they should see the Liberty of *Greece* out of Danger.

*He is recalled.*

When therefore it was resolved to defend themselves by a Sea-fight, *Aristides* having join'd with *Themistocles* in the Resolution of Fighting the *Barbarians* in the *Streights*, observing the little Island *Psytalia*, that lyes against *Salamis*, fill'd with the Enemies Forces, he made all the Sail he could, engaged and routed them, with great Slaughter of all they found, except Persons of Note, who were taken alive, as the Three Children of *Candace*, the King's Sister, whom he sent to *Themistocles*; and surrounded the Island with Men to preserve his Friends, and destroy his Enemies that might be cast away; and here he erected a Trophy.

*Erects a Trophy.*

The Fleet of *Xerxes* being destroy'd, *Themistocles* was for Sailing to the *Hellespont*, and break down the Bridges Built by the King, and so cut off his Retreat; but *Aristides* being against giving so Numerous a Body of the Enemy in

*Greece*

*Greece* the Courage of Deſpair in the Neceſſity of Fighting, it was reſolv'd to fright *Xerxes* with the Pretence into a ſpeedy Retreat out of *Greeee*, which it did as ſoon as he had heard the Danger of its being cut off, leaving *Mardonius* behind him with 200000 of his Beſt Men. Thus the Counſel of *Ariſtides* ſav'd all *Greece* from great Terrour and Hazard.

*Mardonius* in the mean while, by his Ambaſſadors, negotiated with the *Athenians* to quit the Common Defence of *Greece*, under the Hopes of obtaining the Rule of all *Greece*, and the vaſt Promiſes of Incredible Sums of Gold, and the Re-edifying of their City: But the *Lacedemonians* being afraid that the *Athenians* would be won by thoſe Extraordinary Conditions to deſert the Common Intereſt of *Greece*, by their Ambaſſadors proffer'd them Houſes for their Wives and Children, and to ſupply them with Proviſions, *Ariſtides* made to both this Noble, and Different; Reply to the *Spartans*, *That the* Athenians *would not be brib'd by the Gold in the Univerſe to prefer their own Advantage to the Liberty of* Greece; and to *Mardonius*, *That the Athenians ſhould make War with the* Perſians *till they had fully revenged their Waſted Fields, their Demoliſhed City, and Holy Temples of the Gods.*

*His Noble Anſwer to the* Spartans *and* Perſians.

So that when the greateſt Part of *Greece* were in Arms againſt *Mardonius*; *Ariſtides* is choſen General of the *Athenians*, with Eight Thouſand therefore he march'd to *Platea*, and there join'd the *Lacedemonian* King *Pauſanias*, and the reſt of the *Grecian* Princes. There aroſe a Diſpute betwixt the *Tegeatæ* and *Athenians* about Commanding the Left Wing of the Army, the Right being without Difficulty yielded to the *Spartans*; the *Tegeatæ* talk'd High of their Anceſtors; but *Ariſtides* ſpeaking for the *Athenians* with Modeſty and Force, and ſaying, *That they came not to quarrel with their Friends, but fight their Enemies; and that the Behaviour of every People on this Occaſion would beſt decide what regard* Greece *ſhould pay them*, the Command was adjudg'd to the *Athenians*.

During the Encampment about *Platea*, ſeveral Men of great Poſſeſſions, though ruin'd by the Continuance of the War, met and conſpir'd the Betraying all to the *Barbarians*; but *Ariſtides* finding it out, and not knowing how far it might reach, only proceeded againſt the Principal, as *Æſchines* of *Lampræa*, and *Ageſiris* of *Acharne*, but they made their Eſcape, and the reſt he diſmiſs'd, telling them their Behaviour in the War would be their beſt Defence againſt the Imputation.

The *Grecians* were all encamp'd at the Mountain *Citheron*, in Strong and Rocky Places, except the *Megareans*, who being Three Thousand in Number, lay in a more Open and Champaign Ground, and so more expos'd to the Inroads of the Enemy's Horse on all Sides, who pressing them hard, they sent to *Pausanias* for a Support, unable by themselves to sustain such Numbers as fell on them; who being in some Suspence how to do it, and proposing it as a Noble Act of Emulation, all others declining the Danger, *Aristides* for the *Athenians* undertakes it, and sends *Olympiodorus* with Three Hundred Chosen Men, and some Archers, to the Relief of the *Megareans*; who marching with great Speed, *Masistous*, General of the *Barbarian* Horse, makes up to them, but his Horse being wounded, falls with him, and he is slain; the Greatness of which Loss appear'd by the Mourning of the *Barbarians* for him, shaving themselves, and their Horses and Mules, for him, as being the most Considerable among them, next to *Mardonius*, both for Authority and Valour.

*Mardonius* finding himself much streighten'd for Provisions, resolv'd to come to a Battel the next Day, notwithstanding that the Southsayers had foretold the Victory to the Attacked, and not the Attackers. About Midnight a certain Horseman got privately into the *Greek* Camp, and desired the Outguards to help him to the Speech of *Aristides*, to whom, being call'd to him, he spoke in this Manner; *I am* Alexander, *King of* Macedonia, (said he,) *and am come to inform you, out of the Love and Respect I bear you; that to Morrow* Mardonius *intends to try his Fortune with you not out of any great Hopes of Victory, but want of Provision, and contrary to the Oracles, and the Inclinations of his Whole Army. I willingly give you this Information, that you may remember me, and take such Care of your Affairs as to discharge your selves as you us'd to do.* He being gone, *Aristides* let *Pausanias*, Generalissimo of the *Grecians*, know the whole Matter, (as agreed betwixt him and *Alexander*;) and on Reflection it was propos'd by *Pausanias* to exchange the Posts of the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*; which the Commander of the former opposing, *Aristides* soon brought them to his Opinion, as being the most Honourable Post, against the *Barbarians*, whose Fighting they knew, and not against the *Greeks*, their Countrymen and Relations. After some delay *Mardonius* falls on, and pressed close upon them: *Pausanias* having done his Sacrifice, which promis'd Success, commands his Men to stand firmly to the Assault. *Aristides* likewise resolving to bring Relief to his Allies, made a Vigorous Resistance to the Enemies, for he engag'd

Five

Five Thouſand Men, whom after a Long and Doubtful Fight he put to flight. *Ariſtides* and his *Athenians* having routed his Wing of the *Perſians*, while the *Spartans* could not break into the Entrenchments, in which the Enemy were confin'd, *Ariſtides* coming to their Aſſiſtance, they enter the Camp Sword in Hand, and make ſo great a Slaughter of them, that of Three Hundred Thouſand, Forty Thouſand only eſcap'd with *Artaſus*; for as ſoon as *Mardonius* was kill'd with a Stone by *Arimneſtus*, a *Spartan*, they all fled. A Conteſt ariſing betwixt the *Spartans* and *Athenians* about erecting a Trophy for this Victory, *Ariſtides* with Addreſs ſooth'd the Armed *Greeks*, and firſt conſented that the Honour ſhould be given to *Platea*.

At an Aſſembly of all the *Greeks* he propos'd a Decree that the Deputies of *Greece*, and Overſeers of Sacred Things, ſhould annually aſſemble, and every Fifth Year celebrate the Games of Liberty; and that Ten Thouſand Spear-men, One Thouſand Horſe, and One Hundred Sail of Ships, ſhould be levy'd on all *Greece* againſt the *Barbarians*.

The *Athenians* now return'd to their City, ſeem'd inclin'd to ſettle a *Democracy*; but *Ariſtides*, to mollifie Matters, and not diſguſt the People, paſt a Decree that the Magiſtrates ſhould be choſe out of the whole Body of the People. Some Time after *Ariſtides* being join'd in the General's Commiſſion with *Cimon*, he behav'd himſelf with that Juſtice, Equity, and Modeſty, and won all with ſo great an Affability, that he ſtole away the Chief Command from the *Lacedemonians:* And he was for his Singular Integrity made Aſſeſſor of all the *Grecian* Cities in the Tax that they paid to the Carrying on the Common War againſt the *Barbarians*; and he executed the Truſt with that Impartiality and Juſtice, that his Taxation was call'd the Happy Time of *Greece*. But tho' he was exactly Juſt in his own and his Citizens Private Affairs, he made no Scruple to go according to the State of Things, without regard to Juſtice, in Publick Matters.

*An Example few Miniſters of State and Generals will now imitate.*

Having made his City the Miſtreſs and Head of ſo many People, and drawn ſo much Riches to it, yet he gloried more in his Poverty than his Trophies, and got no Advantage to his Domeſtick Affairs, which were ſo narrow that he appear'd in Publick in a Thread-bare Cloak, the laſt Argument of Poverty. Thus when there was an Accuſation brought againſt his Couſin *Callias*, as remarkable for his Riches as *Ariſtides* for his Poverty, it was carried againſt him that he did nothing for ſo near a Relation as *Ariſtides*, who was the Admiration of all *Greece*, though he had receiv'd many Benefits by the Intereſt of *Ariſtides*

with the People, *Callias* was fain to ſubpœna him into the Court, where he clear'd him of the Imputation, by aſſuring them he had refus'd his Aſſiſtance; and ſpoke ſo well in the Defence of his Poverty, that few who heard him but would have choſe rather to have been Poor, like *Ariſtides*, than Rich, like *Callias*. *Plato* was of Opinion that he was the moſt Excellent and moſt Worthy Prince of all the *Athenians*, who adorn'd the City with Juſtice, not the Vanities of *Portico's*, Treaſure, and the like. His Moderation was ſuch, that he never inſulted his Enemy *Themiſtocles* in his Fall, but was ſilent when his other Enemies were very loud againſt him.

Hiſtorians differ about his Death, ſome ſaying he died at *Pontus*, ſome in *Athens*, in a full Old Age and Honour; but all agree ſo far, that his Funeral Charges could not be diſcharg'd out of his own Fortune, but were perform'd at the Publick Expence, as his Two Daughters were Married. And the People gave his Son an Hundred Minæ of Silver, and as many Acres of Ground; and on the Motion of *Alcibides*, order'd him Four Drachma's a Day, and a Fortune for his Daughter *Policute*.

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# The LIFE of *CATO MAJOR*:

OR,

## *MARCUS CATO*, the Cenſor.

*Marcus Cato* was born at *Tuſculum*, his Father being of the ſame Name. Before he enter'd on Civil or Military Affairs, he liv'd at his Paternal Eſtate in the Country of the *Sabines*, and had the Sirname of *Cato* for his Vertue, being before call'd *Priſcus*, the *Romans* ſignifying by *Cato* a Wiſe and Prudent Man: He was of a Ruddy Complection, and had Grey Eyes; from a Child he us'd himſelf to Labours and Exerciſes, and ſo made his Body healthy and robuſt: His Speech was Grave and Weighty; and denied

denied no Body that applied to him his Aſſiſtance, as he practis'd in the Country, and the Neighbourhood, by which he arriv'd at an Extraordinary Proficience in Law and Oratory. And he became ſo Eminent for the Gravity of his Manners, and Greatneſs of Mind, that all Men thought him worthy of all Manner of Veneration. In his Youth he initiated himſelf in the War, and receiv'd many Wounds in his Body; he behav'd himſelf with that Valour, that in a Cloſe Fight he was Immovable, Strong in Hand, *Minacious* in his Eyes, Terrible for the Harſhneſs of his Voice and Words, by which Means he often ſtruck more Terrour into his Enemy than by the Force of his Sword.

In the Camp he drank Water, or Vinegar when he was very Thirſty; but if he was Weary or Indiſpos'd he would add a little Wine, to give his Body new Force and Vigour. Having often conſider'd the Manner of Living of *Marcus Curius*, who though he had triumphed Three Times, dwelling in a little Cottage in his Neighbourhood, dug and manur'd his own Ground, and fed moſtly on Turnips, as the Ambaſſador of *Pyrrhus* found him when he contemned their Bribes; and told them, he had rather Conquer thoſe who had Gold than poſſeſs it. *Cato* therefore retrench'd his Expences, and reform'd all his Farms. He was familiarly acquainted with *Nearchus*, a *Pythagorean* Philoſopher, and in his Old Age he ſtudied *Greek*, and receiv'd great Advantage from *Thucydides*, but more from *Demoſthenes*.

At this Time *Valerius Flaccus*, a Noble *Roman* of great Authority, liv'd not far from *Cato*'s Country-dwelling, being a good Judge of the Promiſes of Vertue, and a great Promoter of it, hearing of *Cato*'s Temperate Way of Life, and the great Labour he went through, as much as his Slaves, exhorted him to quit that Manner of Life, and to betake himſelf to Publick Affairs, and aſſiſted him very much in his Promotion. So he was firſt made a *Tribune* of the Soldiers, and next *Quæſtor*; and he every Day encreas'd ſo in Reputation, that he was the Aſſociate of *Valerius*: And he was alſo extreamly pleas'd with *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe Life and Manners he propos'd to himſelf for his moſt Careful Imitation. Hence he begun to oppoſe *Scipio*, and being Quæſtor and Treaſurer in *Africa*, he accus'd him of Corrupting the Soldiers by his Expences and Largeſſes; *Scipio* told him, *That he thought himſelf oblig'd to give the People an Account of his Actions, not Expences.* Valerius Flacus.

So that returning to *Rome*, he join'd with *Fabius* in his Clamour againſt *Scipio*, That he too youthfully ſpent the Publick Treaſure in Wreſtling and Shews. On which the Senate ſent ſome of the Tribunes of the People, that if they found the Accuſation true, they ſhould bring *Scipio* with them to *Rome*: but *Scipio* giving ſufficient Expectations of Succeſs and Victory by his Preparations of War, clear'd himſelf from the Imputation.

*Fabius and Cato's Accuſation of Scipio.*

*Cato* was now call'd the *Roman Demoſthenes*, and grew every Day more Powerful by his Eloquence, but more Famous for his Way of Living, inuring himſelf to Bodily Exerciſes and Labour to the laſt. He never wore a Garment that coſt above an Hundred Drachma's, nor when Conſul and General drank better Wine than his Workmen; what he bought in the Market for his Supper ſeldom coſt more than Thirty Aſſes: By this frugal Diet, and daily Labour, he aim'd to make his Body more hardy for the Fatigues of War and the State. In Buying his Slaves he regarded more their Strength than Beauty; and when that was gone he Sold them again as uſeleſs, or would not ſo much as allow them Neceſſaries when paſt Labour, which is a ſufficient Argument of his Want of Humanity, conſulting more his own Benefit than the Dictates of Nature: Whether this can be call'd Greatneſs or Poorneſs of Spirit let every Man judge as he thinks fit. But as to his own Perſonal Temperance it was extreamly uncommon, and almoſt incredible; for when he was General he never took more for himſelf and Retinue than Three Buſhels of Wheat for a Month, and about a Buſhel and Half a Day for his Carriages and Horſes. When he was Prætor in *Sardinia*, his Parſimony very much diſtinguiſh'd him from all his Predeceſſors, for inſtead of thoſe Charges on the State, Tents, Beds, Robes, Baggages, a long Train of Servants, he us'd to Viſit the Cities without a Coach, attended only by one of the common Town Officers to carry his Gown, and Corn for Sacrifice.

In theſe Things therefore he was frugal, and eaſie to all under him, but in the Execution of the Laws upright, ſevere, and inflexible. His very Way of Speaking ſeem'd to carry the ſame Air, for it was Courteous and Grave, Pleaſant and Piercing, Facetious and Auſtere, Sententious and Pithy. The *Romans* being once tumultuous for diſtribution of Corn, he ſaid to them, *It is indeed, O* Romans, *a difficult Task to ſpeak to the Belly that has no Ears*; and reproving the Luxury of the Times, he ſaid, *That City con'd not long be in ſafety where a little Fiſh was ſold for*

*Cato's Sayings.*

more

*more than an Ox.* He compar'd the *Roman* People to Sheep, for Single they obey none, but in a Flock they follow their Ringleader; *So you,* ſaid he, *are led by this Body got together, though ſingly you would not mind the Advice of a Man of them.* He ſaid of the *Roman* Wives, *All Men command their Wives, we command all Men, and our Wives command us.* He ſaid alſo, *That there was not only a Vogue in Colours, but in Studies and Exerciſes; for as the* Dyers *dye ſuch Colours as are moſt in Faſhion, ſo the Young Men follow ſuch Studies as are moſt cry'd up.* He exhorted the *Romans, That if they deriv'd their Power and Grandeur from Vertue and Temperance they ſhould not change for the Worſe; but if from Vice and Intemperance they ought to change for the Better, ſince by that Means they were grown indeed much too great.* Of a Mother that us'd to pray for her Wicked Son's Survival of her, he ſaid, *This is a Curſe, not a Prayer.* He ſeem'd to wonder, and be ſurpriz'd, at one that ſold his Paternal Eſtate that lay on the Sea, as if he were ſtronger than the Ocean, *For what that waſh'd away with a great deal of Labour, he drank away with a great deal of Eaſe.* He us'd to ſay, that he had ſtirr'd up great Envy againſt himſelf by neglecting his own private Affairs, and taking care of the Publick; but he ſaid he had rather loſe thoſe Thanks and Favour he deſerv'd than not ſuffer the Puniſhment of Guilt, for of all Offenders he leaſt forgave himſelf. The Senate had ſent Three Ambaſſadors to *Bythynia,* one was ill of the Gout, another had had his Skull trepann'd, and the third was ſcarce *Compos Mentis*; on which *Cato* ſaid, *That they had ſent an Embaſſie without Feet, Head, or Brains.* He ſaid, *He had rather ſee a Young Man bluſh than look pale; That he lik'd not the Soldier that made uſe of his Hands in walking, and Feet in fighting, or Swore louder than he hallow'd at the Onſet.* Of a very Fat Man he ſaid, *That he could never be a Man beneficial to the Commonwealth, all the Space betwixt whoſe Throat and Groin was taken up by his Belly.* He refus'd a Familiarity with a great Devote to Eating, *I will not,* ſaid he, *dwell with a Man that is more Senſible in his Palate than Heart or Brains.* He ſaid that the Soul of a Lover liv'd always in another Body; that he repented of Three Things, 1. *That he had truſted a Secret to a Woman,* 2. *That he had ever gone by Water when he might have gone on Foot.* 3. *That he had let any one Day ſlip him without doing any Buſineſs of Moment.* Being revil'd by a Profligate Fellow, he ſaid, *I am not an Equal Match for thee, who art us'd to hear and give Ill Words eaſily, but I am not us'd to hear, and am uneaſie to give ſuch.* When he was Conſul in *Spain* he agreed to give his Neighbours the *Celtiberi* a

round Sum for Auxillaries againſt an Inundation of *Barbarians* that fell on his Province, which was diſlik'd by ſome of his Officers; but, ſaid he, *'Tis nothing, for if we get the Victory we'll pay them out of the Enemies Spoil; if we are beaten there will be none left to demand the Bargain:* But he got the Victory, and ſucceeded well all the reſt of his Government. He caus'd the Walls of all the Cities on the Inſide of the *Bætis* to be demoliſh'd in one Day, on which he us'd to boaſt that he took more Cities in *Spain* than he had ſtaid there Days; and ſince they were Four Hundred in Number, the ſeeming Rodomontade was nothing but Truth. Though the Soldiers had got much Plunder by this Victory, yet he diſtributed a Pound of Silver to each Man, ſaying, *He had rather a great many ſhould return to* Rome *with Silver than a few with Gold.* But nothing of Spoils came to him or his Servants but their Food. One of his Five Servants nam'd *Paccus* bought Three Fine Boys out of the Captives, but finding that *Cato* was inform'd of it, aſham'd to ſee him he hang'd himſelf, and *Cato* ſold the Boys, and put the Money into the Exchequer.

While he was yet in *Spain Scipio* ſucceeded him, and as he march'd back with Five Companies of Foot, and Five Hundred Horſe, he vanquiſh'd the *Lacetanians*, and beheaded Six Hundred Deſerters he took among them: But the Senate ordain'd that *Scipio* ſhould make no Alterations in the Conſtitutions of *Cato*. *Cato* therefore Triumph'd, but remitted nothing of his Vertue, or fell into Luxury or Eaſe, but ſtill apply'd himſelf to Pleading and War, that he might be an Ornament to the Commonwealth, Uſeful to his Citizen, and Serviceable to Friends. Thus he went Lieutenant to *Tiberius Sempronius* to the Banks of the *Iſter*, and into *Thrace*, and was of great Advantage to him. He went alſo as Tribune of the Soldiers, or Colonel under *Martius*, againſt King *Antiochus*, on whoſe Invaſion of *Greece Cato* engag'd the *Corinthians*, the People of *Patræ*, and the *Ægeans*, in the *Roman* Intereſt.

*The Wiſe Advice of Cato.*

When after this King *Antiochus* had fortified the Streights of *Thermopylæ* with a Strong Party of Men, inſomuch that the Conſul deſpair'd of the Victory; *Cato* in the Night leading his Men through the Rough and Craggy Ways of the Mountain, and at laſt about Day-break having paſt all the Difficult Paſſes of the *Thermopylæ*, he fell on the Rear of the Foe with great Shouts, and Sound of Trumpets, and firſt putting the Sentinels on the Hill to the Sword, with unexpected Onſet put the Enemy, ſecure of any ſuch Thing, everywhere into the Utmoſt Confuſion.

*Manlius*

*Manlius* hearing the Shouts, ſeizes the Entrance from below, drives away the Guard, and diſperſes the Enemy, *Antiochus* in the mean while receiving a Wound in the Mouth by a Stone, which ſtruck out ſome of his Teeth, with the Pain turn'd his Horſe to make away from the *Romans*, and he beginning to fly, the Army took to their Heels through obſcure Ways, Marſhes, and Boggs.

*Cato* having obtain'd this Victory, was no very Modeſt Trumpet of his own Actions, but aſſerted that the People of *Rome* was far more in his Debt, than he in theirs. And the Conſul himſelf embracing him with a Joyful Countenance as he came hot from the Fight, and ſaid, that the *Romans* would always be in *Cato*'s Debt for his Noble Actions.

Moſt of what has been ſaid are his Illuſtrious Deeds in War; the reſt of his Time, for the moſt part, he ſpent in puniſhing the Wicked by his Cenſorial Authority; for the Tenth Year after his Conſulſhip he was choſen Cenſor. But that being a Dignity of the Higheſt Command and Power, he found almoſt all the Men of the greateſt Quality his Oppoſers in his asking of it; for it ſeem'd a very great Derogation to the Nobility if a Man of obſcure Parents ſhould carry ſuch a Poſt away from them; and alſo becauſe the Natural Auſterity of the Man defended by the Cenſorial Authority might prove inexorable: But the People of *Rome* rejecting all the Nobility, choſe *Cato* and *Flaccus* Cenſors. In this Magiſtracy he was often in great Danger; but all this could not break his Vigorous Reſolution, inſomuch that he brought *Servillius Galba* to the Bar. He was ſo great an Enemy to *Scipio Africanus*, that he extended his Enmity to *Scipio* the Younger, and depriv'd many of their Senatorial Degree; among whom was *Lacius Quintus Flaminius*, who had been a Man of Conſular Dignity Seven Years, becauſe ſome Time before, when he was Proconſul, he had kill'd a *Gallick* Deſerter with his own Hands to gratifie his Privado, who complain'd that he had never ſeen a Man kill'd. He made *Manlius* run the ſame Fate for kiſſing his Wife in the Day-time before his Daughter. In ſhort, he retrench'd all Superfluities that Luxury had introduc'd either in Sumptuous Equipage, or Womens Ornaments; doubling the Impoſition on all Houſhold Furniture, that was not of Neceſſity Tenfold, that he might deter Men from Luxury and Vain Expences. And though *Titus Flaminius*, and the then Tribune of the People, oppos'd the Adorning of the Temple, (which *Cato* was Building at the Publick Charge, and call'd the *Porcian*,) yet the People having a Pro-

*Cato made Cenſor.*

found

found Veneration for *Cato*'s Cenſorſhip, decreed him a Conſular Statue in the Temple with this Inſcription, Cato *being Cenſor, reſtor'd to their Primitive Beauty by his Admirable Laws the* Roman *Affairs, which were much ſunk from their Ancient Excellence.*

*A Mighty Lover of his Wife and Children.*

The Commonwealth always conſulted him on the moſt Important and Difficult Emergencies, obſerv'd his Advice, and paid him the greateſt Deference. He was a very Good Father to his Children, a Good and Honeſt Husband to his Wife; aſſerting, that he that beat his Sons, or his Wife, ought to bear the Puniſhment as if he had lifted his Hands againſt the Gods; and that he deſerves greater Praiſe who behaves himſelf well to his Wife than he that does ſo to the Senate: And his Chief Praiſe of *Socrates* was, that he behav'd himſelf with Patience and Temperance to the laſt to his Inſolent Wife and Untoward Children. And he took Care of the Education of his own Son, tho' he had a Grammarian to his Slave; for he thought it very improper that his Son, who was not very quick at Learning, ſhould be corrected by his Slave. He was very Nice in the Correction of his Servants. He was ſo great a Lover of Agriculture that he wrote a Book on that Subject. By ſeveral Ways of Gain he heap'd up much Wealth, aſſerting that it was ſomething Divine to leave a greater Fortune behind him than he found. He was ſo great an Enemy to all the *Greeks*, that he rail'd at all the *Grecian* Arts and Sciences, particularly the Philoſophy and Phyſick, and gave his Son Advice to avoid the Converſation of all ſuch Sort of Men; and that he might have no need of having Recourſe to them, he left behind him ſome Commentaries about Medicinal Affairs.

*He wrote Book of Agriculture.*

He was of a very Hale and Strong Conſtitution, and very Luſtful, which is not becoming Old Age; for being now almoſt Decrepit, he would have to do with Women; which when his Son had found out, and complain'd of, he diſcover'd no Reſentment at what he ſaid, but ſending for *Solonias* a Scrivener, he ask'd whether he would Marry his Daughter to a Good Husband, he replying that he willingly would, he ask'd him if he would accept of him as a Son-in-law. *Salonias*, at firſt in ſuſpence by the Surprize, finding him in earneſt, gave him his Daughter for a Wife: The Son hearing of this, comes to his Father and asks his Pardon if he had offended him ſo far as to provoke him to bring Home a Stepmother upon him. *No, my Son,* (reply'd *Cato,*) *you have offended me in nothing, nor have you given any Cauſe of Anger, but the Good of the Commonwealth has made me take this Courſe, to which I have*

*a Desire to leave as many such Good Citizens as thou art as I can.* He never left the Management of Publick Affairs as *L. Lucullus*, *Metellus Pius*, and *Scipio* did, but giving fresh Proofs every Day as he grew Older of his Unweary'd Faith and Zeal to the Commonwealth, by applying himself to the last to Publick Affairs; and at his Leisure Hours he wrote Orations and Histories. He often had Entertainments in the Country for his Neighbours and Acquaintance, much to all their Satisfaction. He us'd to extol those who had done their Country Service, and publickly detested those from whom the State had receiv'd no Benefit. The Destruction of *Carthage* was the last Memorable Effect of his Counsels, which though effected by the Hands and Valour of *Scipio* the Younger, yet was the War undertaken by his Advice, Perswasion and Reasoning. So that *Cato* was the Author of the Third and Last Punick War, in the Beginning of which, over-grown by Old Age, he died, leaving behind him *Cato*, sirnam'd *Talonius*, by his Second Wife, who died when he was General; his Son by his First Wife dying before him.

## *The Comparison of* Aristides *and* Cato.

In this Particular these Two Great Men agreed, that they both by their own Vertue, not the Advantage of Birth, came to the Helm; but *Aristides* flourish'd in the Distress of *Athens*, *Cato* from a small Village came on the Stage of a Great and Flourishing Republick. And there was some difference in having *Themistocles* his Antagonist, who was not eminent either for Birth or Fortune; and in contending with the *Servii*, the *Galbæ*, the *Scipio*, the *Quintii*, and the *Flaminii*, for the greatest Post of Dignity in the Commonwealth, *Aristides* at *Marathon* and *Platea* was only one of the Ten Commanders. *Cato* in *Spain* excell'd all for Courage and Conduct; and when under *Manlius*, at the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, it was he got the Victory. *Aristides* was forc'd into Banishment, but *Cato* preserved himself free to the very last; and behav'd himself with no less Prudence in Publick than in his own Private and Domestick Concerns, for he encreas'd his Fortune, and wrote on Domestick and Rural Affairs. *Aristides* being always Poor, left neither Fortune nor Dignity to his Posterity, taking no Care for his Daughter's Portion, or his own Funeral; but the Off-spring of *Cato* flourish'd to the Fourth Generation in Commands, Consulships, and other Dignities.

Yet

Yet the Deeds of *Ariſtides* were of the greateſt Good and Importance to the *Greeks*, but thoſe of *Cato* generally of little or no Conſequence to the *Romans*. *Antiochus* is not to be compar'd to *Xerxes*; nor diſmantling ſo many Towns in *Spain* to be put in the Ballance with ſo many Thouſands both by Land and Sea deſtroy'd by *Ariſtides*. *Ariſtides* equally deſpiſing Glory and Triumph with Riches, was ſuperior to all Men in Greatneſs of Soul: On the contrary, *Cato* always gave himſelf the Firſt Place in all Manner of Vertues, though he had ſaid in one of his Orations, *That it was as bad to praiſe as diſpraiſe our ſelves*. *Ariſtides* being aſſociated with his Enemy *Themiſtocles* in Command, did all he cou'd to ſupport his Honour and Authority. But *Cato* was always ſo inveterate againſt *Scipio*, that his Calumnies againſt him in the Punick War went near to deſtroy his Command, and at laſt drove him out of the City, and robb'd many Senators of their Honours. *Ariſtides* equall'd *Cato* in his Continence; but *Cato*'s laſt Marriage was infamous, when after former Intriegues he took to Wife a Woman of the Dregs of the People, and brought a Stepmother on his Son.

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# The LIFE of *PHILOPOEMEN*.

*His Country and Birth.*

IT is plain enough in Hiſtory that *Philopœmen* was the Son of *Craufus* of *Megalopolis*. He was not of an Ungraceful Form, though by the Meaneſt of his Garments he was taken for the General's Servant by his *Megarenſian* Hoſteſs, who when ſhe knew that the General of the *Achaians* was to come to her Inn, was very buſie about getting Supper ready, and *Philopœmen* coming in at that Time in a Scurvy Sort of a Cloak, ſhe thought him ſome Servant of the Generals, and therefore deſir'd him to lend his helping Hand to the Preparation: He throwing aſide his Cloak very readily went to cleaving the Wood; who being ask'd what he did by his Hoſt now coming in, he reply'd, *I am doing Penance for my Ill Looks*. He was indeed very ſlender in the Waſte, and was reflected on by *Titus Flaminius*

*Flaminius* for having too White Hands and Legs. He was extreamly Ambitious of Glory, and not free from Choler; being by these Two Qualities deterr'd from the Bar, he betook himself to the Field. He was therefore always at the Head of those *Megalopolitans*, who at that Time made Incursions into the Frontiers of *Sparta*, and ever in the Rear in their Retreat. *His Inclination to War.*

In the Intervals of War he apply'd himself either to cultivating the Ground, or Hunting, or any other Corporeal Labour, by which making himself the more Strong and Robust, he enlarg'd his Estate by a very Honest Encrease. He was Eloquent enough for a Soldier, and given to the Study of Philosophy; he read the Fables of *Homer*, and whatever contributed to the Polishing the Mind; and he read *Evangelus* of *the Art of War*, and made it his Study Day and Night; and he would hear with Pleasure the several Histories of the Acts of *Alexander* the Great, as the True Incitements to Vertue. Thus qualified when he was not yet above Twenty Years of Age, when *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta* had enter'd the City of *Megalopolis* by Night, finding that he could not bring any Relief to his Country, with Hazard of his Life, persuaded the Citizen to steal out of the Town against their Foes; and he provok'd *Cleomenes* so against him, that having made all the rest make their Escape, he being wounded, and having lost his Horse, was the last that got off.

The People of *Megalopolis* flying therefore to *Messena*, *Cleomenes* promis'd them if they would return to their City he would restore them not only that, but also their Goods. This *Philopœmen* disswaded them from, assuring them that *Cleomenes* would not long retain the Empty Walls: *Cleomenes* finding this Artifice ineffectual to get the People into his Power, plunder'd and destroy'd great Part of the City, and retir'd with much Booty.

*Antigonus* soon after coming to the Assistance of the *Megalopolitans*, *Philopœmen* joining them with his Citizens, march'd against *Cleomenes*; the Battle being begun, and the Light-armed Men of the *Spartans* falling on the *Illyrian* Foot, were attack'd by *Philopœmen* and his Fellow Citizens, (when he could not prevail for want of Authority with the *Macedonians*,) and routed by them; and though he was wounded, on his quitting his Horse, through both Buttocks with a Javelin, that could not be pull'd out, but he himself had broke the Staff, he behav'd himself with that Vigour that he was a great Means of winning the Day. *Cleomenes* being thus beaten, and Victory won, when *Antigonus* chid his Officers for bringing up the Horse before

before the appointed Signal, they told him they were againſt their Will forc'd to it by a Young *Megalopolitan*; he reply'd, *That that Young Man had that Day given great Proofs of a Compleat Commander.* This Conduct of his, and his Actions, got him ſo great Reputation, that *Antigonus* ſollicited him with great Profers of Command and Pay to ſerve under him; but he unable to be under another's Command, and as unable be out of Action, went to the *Cretian* Wars. Some Time he ſpent among theſe Warlike and Sober People, and return'd with ſo much Reputation, that the *Acheans* choſe him General of their Horſe; which wanted both Experience and Courage, the Men being Hirelings, and the Horſe any Jades that came firſt to Hand; which Abuſes being conniv'd at by former Generals, *Philopœmen* ſoon redreſs'd, exciting the Youth to the Love of Praiſe, Emulation and Action, fining thoſe who came to the Parade unprovided with any Thing that was neceſſary in their Equipage, and exercis'd them ſo often, and ſo much in the Publick View, that they were ſoon ſo expert in their Diſcipline that the whole Body mov'd like one Man. And he himſelf ſet them the Example of Bravery; for coming to a Battle with the *Ætolians* and *Elians* near the River *Lariſtus*, *Demophantes*, General of the *Ætolian* Horſe, ſingling him out for the Combat, he tumbled him dead from his Horſe with his Spear, at whoſe Fall the Enemy fled, and left *Philopœmen* the Victory. This rais'd the Name of *Philopœmen* with a double Praiſe, both as a Stout and Hardy Soldier, and an Able and Experienc'd Commander, excelling all in Courage and Conduct.

*Aratus* firſt united the ſeveral Petty Governments of *Achaia* into one well-regulated Commonwealth, but depended much on the *Macedonians*, and his Arts of Perſwaſion on his Negotiations with thoſe Princes; but *Philopœmen* coming to the Command, the *Acheans* growing ſtrong enough for the moſt Powerful of their Enemies, would march no longer under Foreign Colours, being us'd to Victory under *Philopœmen* in his firſt Fortunate Attempts. He reform'd their Diſcipline, and alter'd their Weapons; for little Targets and ſhort Javelins, he introduc'd large Shields and long Pikes; and inſtead of looſe Fighting and Skirmiſhing, he brought them to fight Firm, and Foot to Foot: By bringing them thus to wear Armour all over them, he made them think themſelves invincible. He diverted the Current of the Profuſeneſs of the Times into an Honourable Channel, inſtead of Squandering on Fine Cloaths, Rich Furniture, and Extravagant Suppers and Enter-

*A New Manner of Diſcipline.*

Entertainments, he brought them to vie with each other in the Richneſs and Beauty of their Armour, Weapons, and their Equipage of War. Having thus arm'd them, he train'd them by a Conſtant Diſcipline to Expertneſs, till they long'd for nothing more than to come to a real Action with the Enemy.

*Machanidas*, Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, aiming at the Sovereignty of all the *Peloponeſus*, had fallen on the *Mantineans*, on News of which *Philopœmen* took the Field, and march'd towards him, and engag'd him not far from the Walls of *Mantinea*; where *Machanides* routing the Front with his Mercenaries, purſu'd them, and leaving the Main Body unguarded, *Philopœmen* kills 4000 on the Spot, and entirely defeats them, and meeting *Machinidas* returning from the Purſuit, with his own Hand ſtrikes him dead from his Horſe into the Ditch he was juſt going to leap. In Memory of which Action the *Acheans* ſet up his Statue in Braſs at *Delphos* in that very Action, which yet remains: And his Name being ſpread by the Glory he had obtain'd, *Philip* of *Macedon* deſpairing of terrifying the *Acheans* into Subjection while he liv'd, employ'd Bravo's to aſſaſſinate him privately; but the Treachery being diſcover'd, *Philip* gain'd nothing but Infamy, and the Hatred of all *Greece*. The *Beotians* rais'd the Siege of *Megara* on a meer Rumour that *Philopœmen* was coming to its Relief, leaving their Scaling Ladders, and Warlike Inſtruments behind them. *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedemon*, who ſucceeded *Machanidas*, having ſurpriz'd the City of *Meſſena* while *Philopœmen* was out of Command, and *Lyſippus* was General, *Philopœmen* having perſwaded the latter in vain to go to its Reſcue, went himſelf, with his own Citizens, without any other Commiſſion but what Nature had given him, and approaching the Town, *Nabis*, though his Army were quarter'd in it, thought it not convenient to ſtay his coming, but ſtole away out of the fartheſt Gate, thinking himſelf happy to get away in ſafety.

*The* Peloponeſian *War.*

All theſe Actions rais'd the Reputation of *Philopœmen*, and were much for his Praiſe and Honour. But he was condemn'd for returning into *Crete* at the Requeſt of the *Grotynians*, when *Nabis* diſtreſs'd his Country, and encamp'd almoſt under the Walls of *Megalopolis*, his Enemies pretending that it was becauſe the *Acheans* choſe another General, and left him a Private Man. This put the *Megalopolitans* into ſuch a Rage with him, that they had baniſh'd him had not the *Acheans* by their Interpoſition prevented it. In the mean Time his Conduct in *Crete* was ſo good, that he had the Praiſe and Admiration of all, acting with

greater

greater Stratagems than even the Natives themſelves, though thoſe were their peculiar Arts. On his Return to the *Peloponeſus* he was declar'd Generaliſſimo againſt *Nabis*, who at once made War with the *Romans* and *Acheans*. *Nabis* had beſieg'd *Gytheon* after the Ill Succeſs of *Philopœmen* at Sea, in which Warfare he was unskilful and unexperienced, and his Men being looſe and diſorder'd with the Joy of the Victory, *Philopœmen* lands his Men in the Night, ſets Fire to their Camp, and puts abundance to the Sword. A little after paſſing ſome Streights, and Rough Ways, *Nabis* came ſuddenly upon, and put the *Acheans* into Deſpair of their Eſcape; but with an Admirable Preſence of Mind, and Skill in War, he drew them up in ſuch a Form as was agreeable to the Situation of the Place, and reſtor'd ſuch Heart to his Men, that he routed the Enemy, but purſu'd them not too far, by reaſon of the Bogs, Rivers, *&c.* but plac'd Parties about the Walls of the Cities, who pick'd up abundance of the Runaways as they diſperſedly endeavour'd in the Night to retreat into the Town.

*He is declared General.*

As this rais'd his Glory and Honour in *Greece*, ſo it provok'd the ſecret Ill-will of *Titus Flaminus*, a Man extreamly covetous of Glory, ſince one Proclamation of his had done more for *Greece* in giving them their Liberty than all the Actions of *Philopœmen*. After *Nabis* had made Peace with *Titus Flaminius*, he was circumvented, and ſlain by the *Ætolians*, and *Philopœmen* taking hold of the Opportunity, came on them with his Army, and won ſome by Perſwaſion, and ſome by Force, till he brought the whole City over to the *Acheans*. This Addition to the Strength of *Achaia*, by the Confederacy of ſo Powerful a City, was prais'd by the *Acheans*, and the Reſtoring their Liberty to *Sparta* ſo agreeable to the *Lacedemonian* Nobility, that having Sold the Houſe and Goods of *Nabis* for an Hundred and Twenty Silver Talents, or above Two Thouſand Pounds Sterling, they decreed him the Money, and ſent ſome of the City to preſent it; but ſo eminent was his Integrity that not one durſt mention it to him, till *Timolaus*, the laſt Deputy, and his Friend, in whoſe Houſe he lodg'd at *Sparta*, after Three Times going to *Megalopolis*, with much faltering inform'd him of the Good-will of the *Spartans*. *Philopœmen* heard him very Civilly, and then went with him to *Sparta*, and advis'd them not to endeavour to bribe Men of Honour, and their Friends, of whoſe Service they might be ſure without any Expence, but to apply the Money to buy off the Seditious Citizens, who endeavour'd by their Speeches

*His Integrity.*

Speeches in the Senate, and to the People, to embroil all their Affairs.

Some Time after, when *Dimophanes* was General of the *Achæans*, and resolv'd to Chastise the *Spartans* for their new Attempts and Designs of embroiling the *Peloponesus*, *Philopæmen* endeavoured to soften *Dimophanes*, by perswading him to dissemble the Injury, while *Antiochus* and the Roman Consul were with such vast Armies in the midst of *Greece*, but *Demophanes* joining *Titus*, march'd directly to *Sparta*, *Philopæmen*, vex'd with that Attempt, tho' a private Man at that Time, got into the City, and so far prevail'd, as to reunite *Lacedæman* to the *Achæans* again. Yet when *Prætor* himself, on some new Transgressions of the *Spartans*, he restor'd the Exiles, and put 350 Citizens to Death, raz'd their Walls, gave the *Megalopolitans* good part of their Territories, bore into *Achaia* all that had been made Free by the Tyrants, and Sold 3000 for Slaves, who wou'd not submit to Banishment, dissolv'd the Laws of *Licurgus*, and oblig'd them to those of the *Achæans*. He blam'd the *Romans* for not falling on *Antiochus*, and his Men, dissolv'd in Luxury in *Asia*, and carry'd himself steadily and cautiously on the great Success of the *Romans*, and made it his Business to fix the Eloquent and the Rich in the Interest of the common Liberty. *Aristinetus* saying in the Senate of *Megalopolis* that nothing was to be denied the *Romans*, he reply'd, *And why in such Haste to behold the Ruin of Greece?* Tho' he cross'd the Compliance with the *Romans* in the Restoration of the banish'd *Spartans*, which they ask'd, yet when Prætor himself he restor'd them.

Being now Seventy Years Old, and Chosen the Eighth Time General, he hop'd that not only his Magistracy, but also the Remainder of his Life, might be past in Tranquility; yet he could not avoid falling into the Extremity of ill Fortune in the very shut of his Life. For he heard soon after that *Dinocrates*, a *Messenian*, as remarkable for being his deadly Enemy, as for that Villany and Wickedness, that had drawn on him the Hatred of all, had made the *Messenians* revolt from the Publick League of *Achaia*, and was going to seize a little Place, call'd *Colonis*, tho' then Sick of a Feaver at *Argos*, he rid in One Day to *Megalopolis*, which is Fifty Miles; and immediately drawing out a Body of Voluntiers, march'd to the Relief of his Allies; in their March they meet *Dinocrates* at *Evander's* Tomb, charg'd and routed them; but they, by the coming in of Five Hundred fresh Men, rallying on the Hills, *Philopæmen* was afraid of being surrounded, and retreated over disadvantageous Ground, himself bringing up the Rear; facing often

ten the Enemy, and advancing from his Men, whom to endeavour to conduct safe thence, he often was almost alone, yet none durst approach him, till at last being got in the thickest of the Trees alone, yet then they attack'd him aloof, till his Horse throwing him, and bruising his Head, they thought him dead, and came in to strip him; but he at last opening his Eyes, they in a croud throng upon him, and bind him, and lead him away in Triumph, with all the insulting Insolence imaginable; and being, much contrary to his Expectation, brought to *Dinocrates*, he is thrust ignominiously into a Dungeon, which they call the Treasury, a Place without Air or Light, rouling a great Stone to the Entrance, they placed a Guard, and left him. The *Achæans* Demanding him, and raising their Army to Rescue and Revenge him, *Dinocrates* fearing that Delays would get him out of his Hands, sent an Executioner with Poison in the Night; *Philopæmen* seeing the Light, and the Man with Poison, ask'd him what was become of the Horse, particularly of *Lycortes*? The Fellow told him most of them were got off safe; he looking chearfully on him, drank off the Poison, laid himself down again, and died in a little Time.

*His great Misfortune.*

*His Death.*

The News of the Death of *Philopæmen* fill'd all *Achaia* with Grief, yet that promoted their Zeal for a speedy Revenge, and *Lycortes* being chosen General, laid Waste the Country of the *Messenians* with Fire and Sword, so that they compell'd them to a Surrender. *Dinocrates* hoping no Mercy from the Victors, kill'd himself, and all that had a Hand in it, so much as by Consent, did the same; those who Voted him to be tormented *Lycortes* put in Chains. His Body being then most magnificently burnt, and his Ashes put into an Urn, the Army march'd Home in a Solemn Pomp of Triumph, yet mix'd with Tears for their dead General, the Principal of the *Achæans* surrounding the Urn, on which only Garlands and Ribbons were plac'd, and the Enemies bound in Chains; the People of all the Towns and Villages in the Road flock'd out to meet him, and touching the Urn, attended him to *Megalopolis*, several Cities set up Statues to him; which when at the Taking of *Corinth* a *Roman* wou'd have defac'd, as the Statues of an Enemy of the *Romans*, the Consul forbid.

# The LIFE of *Titus Quintius Flaminius.*

THE Temper of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* was ſomething of the hotteſt, both in his Anger and Kindneſs, but the former of leſs Continuance than the latter; he was exorable and moderate in puniſhing, but indefatigable in Courteſies, which he wou'd ever go through with, being very thirſty of Glory; he was fond of all Opportunities of doing great and extraordinary Things. He was ſo obſervant of thoſe who taſted his Beneficence, that he ſeem'd the Perſon oblig'd; and he lov'd thoſe who wanted his Favour, more than thoſe who cou'd beſtow any, the firſt being Objects of his Virtue, the others Rivals of his Glory.

The *Romans* being now engag'd in great Wars, their Youth were early initiated in Military Affairs, and *Flaminius* having early paſt the firſt Rudiments of War; had his firſt Commiſſion of Tribune or Collonel of a 1000 Foot, under the Conſul *Marcellus*, againſt *Hannibal*. After *Marcellus* was cut off by the Ambuſcade, he was Governour of *Tarentum*, and the adjacent Country; and then Leader, and Chief of the Colonies ſent to the Cities of *Narean* and *Coſſa*. This made him aim at higher Matters, and ſtand for the Conſulſhip, which in ſpight of the Oppoſition of the Tribunes of the People he carry'd, tho' yet not Thirty Years old, with *Sextus Ælius*, and his Lot was the War againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*; and having his Brother *Lucius* made Admiral by the Senate, with 3000 Veteran Soldiers drawn out of thoſe who had ſerv'd under *Scipio* in *Spain*, and in *Africa*, he got ſafe into *Epirus*, and receives the Army from *Publius*, near the River *Apſus*, and the *Streights*, and takes a juſt and narrow View of the Coaſts, and found that there cou'd be no end put to the War, unleſs he cou'd open a Way for his Army over the Hills; but the *Macedonians* being Maſters of thoſe, repuls'd him whenever he endeavour'd it; till ſome Herdſmen Conducted a Tribune, and 4000 Foot, and 300 Horſe, through a By-way, neglected by the Enemy, who lying ſtill all the Day, march'd

*He is made Conſul.*

marched by the Benefit of the Moon in the Night. *Titus* in the mean while kept the Enemy in play with little Skirmiſhes, till the Day agreed on betwixt him and the Tribune; when drawing out his Army, he ſet them in *Batalia*, and dividing it in Three Parts, led the Van himſelf; when diſcovering the Smoke and Fire, agreed on for the Signal, the *Romans* gave a great Shout, which was anſwered by thoſe behind the *Macedonians*, who at the ſame time finding themſelves ſhot at from all Sides, in a pannick Fear fled, and left their Camp to the *Romans*, and Two Thouſand Men ſlain on the Spot, the Craggineſs of the Place rendring a long Purſuit impracticable. But plundering the Camp, and leaving the Paſs, by the Diſcipline he made his Men keep through all *Epirus*, he found Proviſion ſufficient, tho' ſo far from the Sea-ſide.

*Beats the* Macedonians *at the Streights of* Apius.

After this Overthrow, *Philip* flying through *Theſſaly*, plundered all Places, and burnt and conſumed all he cou'd not bear off, that he might leave the Province deſolate to the *Romans* who were to follow him. *Titus* on the contrary, with a wonderful Generoſity, took particular Care that what the Enemy had left in the Country ſhou'd not be touch'd, which made all the Cities when he enred *Theſſaly* immediately ſurrender to him; and the *Achæans* broke their League with *Philip*, and voted a Junction with the *Romans*, and the *Ætolians*, who were in Confederacy with them, perſwaded the *Opuntians* to put their City under the *Romans* Protection. *Titus* proferr'd *Philip* Peace, on Condition he would leave *Greece* free, and withdraw his Garriſons, but he refuſing thoſe Terms, he referrs him to the Senate. In the mean while all *Greece* received *Titus* as their Deliverer, and he complimented the *Thebans* out of their City, who till then were ever inclined to *Philip*; but he being in Poſſeſſion, they were eaſily fix'd to the *Romans*. The Senate rejects *Philip*'s Propoſals, and confirms *Titus* in his Command, and he immediately makes into *Theſſaly* with 26000 Men, the *Ætolians* furniſhing 6000 Foot, 400 Horſe. Both Armies being now encamped near *Scotuſa*, harangued his Men according to the Occaſion; but *Philip* hapning to ſpeak to his from a riſing Ground, being the better to be heard, it hapned to be a Burying-place, and the Omen being Ill, he wou'd not that Day engage. The next being foggy, and obſcur'd with Miſts, each Army ſending out Parties for Ambuſcade and Diſcoveries, had ſeveral Rencounters; but the Day now clearing up, *Philip* pours his Men down from the higher Ground on the *Romans* with ſuch a Force, that their Shock

*The great Succeſs of* Titus.

Shock cou'd not be withſtood. *Titus* in the mean while preſſes the other Wing, routs it by the Advantage of the Ground, and ſo beats the whole Army, killing 8000 on the Spot, and taking 5000 Priſoners; and *Philip* himſelf had not eſcaped, had it not been the Fault of the *Ætolians*, who while the *Romans* purſued, minded only plundering the Camp, which they cleared ſo well, that the *Romans* returning from the Purſuit found nothing in it. Yet the *Ætolians* ſpread all over *Greece* the Report that this Victory was due to them alone; at which *Titus* was ſo offended, that he wou'd never any more admit the *Ætolians* into his Army; who endeavoured out of Revenge to ſpread Scandals about his Treaty with *Philip*, as if he was ſelling him a Peace when in his Power to have deſtroyed that *Empire* whence firſt the Servitude of *Greece* began. But *Philip* ſurrendring his Kingdom on his own Accord to *Titus*, put an end to theſe Rumours; who reinſtated him on his Throne, delivering *Greece* entirely from his Juriſdiction, and amerced him in 2000 Talents, took all his Fleet from him but Ten Veſſels, and ſent his Son *Demetrias* to *Rome* as Hoſtage. Theſe Conditions were ever after punctually obſerved by *Philip*. The Ten Commiſſioners ſent by the Senate to *Titus* perſwaded him to ſet free all *Greece*, but only to reſerve *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, for Garriſons againſt *Antiochus*; yet to ſtop the Slanders of the *Ætolians*, he got Power to oblige *Greece* not by Halves, and therefore ſending a Crier into the *Iſthmian* Games, he in the Name of the Senate and Proconſul pronounced all *Greece* free to be governed by their own Laws, *&c.* The Joy of this when fully heard was ſo great, that ſuch a Shout was given by the Company, as reached as far as the Sea; and ſuch Crouds came and preſs'd on *Titus* with Thanks, that had he not ſpeedily withdrawn himſelf he had been crouded to Death; and all ſalute him with the Title of Saviour and Defender of *Greece*; and careſs'd him for turning ſo great a Victory, not to the Enſlaving, but the generous Liberty, of *Greece*. To put in Execution what he had proclaimed, he ſent *Lentulus* into *Aſia* to ſet the *Bergillians* at Liberty; *Titinnius* to *Thrace*, to remove thence, and the adjacent Iſles, the Garriſons of *Philip*; and *Publius Julius* to negotiate with *Antiochus* the Freedom of theſe *Greeks* he had enthrall'd. He himſelf went to *Chalcis*, and thence to *Magneſia*, where removing the Garriſons, he ſurrendred the Government to the People. And being choſen Judge of the *Nemæan* Games at *Argos*, he cauſed the ſame Proclamation to be made of the Freedom of *Greece*, and

passing through the Cities recommended to them a Conformity to their Laws, Justice, Unity and Friendship; he quashed the Seditious, restored the Banish'd; and the Conquest of *Philip* seem'd less agreeable to him than the Power of uniting *Greek* with *Greeks*.

This was of great Use to the *Roman* Commonwealth, and opened a large Gate to the encrease of their Empire; their Governours not only being easily admitted, but Kings and Nations threw themselves into their Protection. The Value he set upon the Liberty he gave *Greece* is plain from these Verses, inscribed on his Shield, Dedicated to *Apollo* at *Delphos*.

Ye Kings of *Sparta!* O! Ye Royal Twins,
Whose equal Source are *Tyndarus* and *Jove*;
And who in Horses chiefly place your Love,
In Joy and Triumph move:
The *Roman Titus* sprung from *Trojan* Loins,
Bestows on you, begot by *Grecian* Sires,
*Lost Liberty*, a Gift, which every Man admires.

He offered also a Golden Crown to *Apollo*, in which were these Verses.

O Bright *Latona*'s Son! Permit this Crown
With Golden Rays to grace th'ambrosial Hair,
Which *Titus*, Leader of the *Trojans* Sons,
Presents to thee, that he with thee may share.
Far-shooting God, the Glory of thy Song,
Th' Immortal Lays, to Noble Deeds belong.

*He leaves Sparta in Slavery.*

After this, making War with *Nabis*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, he disappointed the Hopes of *Greece*, in neglecting the Opportunity of taking him, and making up Peace with him; and so leaving *Sparta* in unworthy Servitude. Tho' *Titus* had his just Reasons for his Neglect, too many of the *Spartans* at that Time being involved in the Ruin of the Tyrant. Of many Honours paid *Titus* by the *Achæans*, their last Present pleased him most; for bringing him just before he went on Board about 12000 *Romans*, who had been Sold by *Hannibal* in the Course of his Victory for Slaves, they presented them to him, having Bought them of their Masters at 5 *l.* a Head. These followed in the Habit of freed Men; the Triumphal Chariot of *Titus*; in this Triumph were carried the *Grecian* Helmets, the *Macedonian* Targets, and Javelins, and the

rest

reſt of the Spoils; 3713 Pounds weight of maſſy Gold, 43470 of Silver, 14514 Golden Philipics, beſides 1000 Talents *Philip* ow'd, and which by the Mediation of *Titus* were afterwards remitted, his Son ſent back, and he declared a Friend and Ally of *Rome*.

*Antiochus* a little after making an Irruption into *Greece*, the *Ætolians* joining with him, ſollicite the Cities to a Defection from Amity of the *Romans*, while the Conſul *Mannius Atilius* went with the Army againſt him. *Titus* is ſent Ambaſſador to the *Grecians*, to keep them firm to the *Roman* Intereſts; his Sight confirmed ſome, his Perſwaſions others, ſo that except a few corrupted by the *Ætolians*, he kept all the reſt in their Duty. Nay, he yet extended his Favour to the Rebellious after *Antiochus* was beat out of *Greece*; for the Conſul giving up part of the *Ætolians* to the Plunder of *Philip*, he perſwaded *Mannius* from it, and he being at the Siege of *Naupactum*, the Beſieged *Ætolians* ſeeing *Titus* in the Trench, extended their Hands, and begg'd his Help; who, with much ado, prevailed with the Conſul to give them Time to apply to the Senate for a Moderation of their Puniſhment. *Mannius* was not a little exaſperated againſt the City of *Chalcis*, who not only received *Antiochus*, but ſuffered him to Marry a Young Lady of that City as he came to *Greece*, and let him and her eſcape when he fled from the Battle of *Thermopylæ*. But the Conſul now laying Siege to it, was at laſt prevailed on by *Titus* to forgive them. For which, in memory of this Benefit of good *Titus*, in all their Conſecrations of publick Structures he was mention'd with ſome God, as *this Gymnaſium is Dedicated to Titus and* Hercules by the People of *Chalcis*; this *Delphinum* to *Apollo* and *Titus*. They likewiſe inſtituted to him as to a God, a Prieſt, and Divine Rites, and after their Libations ſing a Song which cloſes in this manner.

With conſtant Vows we all adore
The *Roman* Faith, ſublime and pure;
Ye Virgins ſing Almighty *Jove*,
Together ſing of *Titus* Love:
Sing, *Io Pæan! Io Titus! Io Jove!*

He always was civil and obligingly affable in his Diſcourſe, harſh and ſevere to none, and his reſentment ſeldom went beyond Words, his Converſation was pleaſant and witty. As of the *Acheans* attempting the Conqueſt of the Iſland *Zacinthus*, *The* Tortois *might as well venture his* *The exceſſive Gratitude of thoſe of* Chalcis.

*Head out of his Shell as they out of the Peloponeſus.* *Philip* at their meeting to negotiate a Ceſſation, complained that he came alone, but *Titus* with a Train; *True* ſaid he, *but you have made your ſelf alone by killing all your Friends.* *Dinocrates* having in his Drink danc'd in Womans Cloaths at *Rome*, came the next Day to ſollicite *Titus* about getting *Meſſene* from the *Achæans*. I ſhall think of that hereafter, ſaid he; but how can a Deſign of this Nature and the Oſtentation of your Skill in Singing and Dancing agree? The Ambaſſadors of *Antiochus* telling the *Achæans* the Mightineſs of his Maſter, *Titus* deſired them to mind, that as his Hoſt once furniſhed his Table with a wonderful Variety of Diſhes, he asked him how he cou'd procure them? He anſwered, That they were all Hogs-fleſh variouſly dreſs'd up, ſo ſaid *Titus*, The Darters, Pikemen, Halbardiers, and the like, muſtered up by this Ambaſſador, are all *Syrians* under different Names.

At his Return to *Rome*, in conſideration of his great Actions, he was maed Cenſor, which is one of the chief Poſts in the Common-wealth. In this Magiſtracy, with his Collegue *Marcellus*, he expelled Four of the Senate. *Marcus Cato* and *Scipio Africanus* being then at variance, *Titus* joined with the latter, and made him Preſident of the Senate, which was the Cauſe of great Diſcord afterwards betwixt *Cato* and him, *Cato* in his Cenſorſhip having expelled *Lucius Flaminius* the Senate, as may be found in the Life of *Cato*, *Titus* was extreamly covetous of Glory and Praiſe, and very juſtly arrived at it; yet in his Old Age he did ſomething which drew the Hatred of many upon him. For being ſent Ambaſſador to *Pruſias*, King of *Bythinia*, (to whom *Hannibal* had fled for his Protection in his Old Age from the Enmity of the *Romans*) he preſs'd on his Death, and brought the King, much againſt his Will, to yield to it. *Hannibal's* Houſe was on the Coaſt call'd *Libyſſa*, (the Name of the Place propheſied he ſhould die at) but fearing the King's eaſie Temper, he made ſeveral ſubterranean Paſſages to eſcape, but thoſe being beſet by the King's Guards, he took Poiſon, and died. Some clear'd *Titus* of this Act as too diſagreeable to his Nature to be his voluntary motion, and ſay, that it was the Buſineſs of the Embaſſy, in which *Lucius Scipio* was.

*Titus* did nothing after this, either in War or Civil Adminiſtration, but died in Reputation and Peace.

The

## *The Comparison betwixt* T. Q. Flaminius *and* Philopœmen.

There is indeed no *Greek* whatever that can be a just Parallel to *Titus* in regard to *Greece*. *Philopœmen*, a *Greek*, fought against *Greeks*, *Titus*, a Foreigner, for them. The first slew more *Greeks* than the latter *Macedonians* in the defence of *Greece*. *Philopœmen* left his City in distress, and went to *Crete*, *Titus* by his Victory over *Philip*, set his City and all *Greece* free: One was Ambitious, the other Obstinate. *Titus* restored *Philip* his Crown and Royal Dignity, and became an Advocate for the Ingrateful *Ætolians*; but *Philopœmen* in his Anger deprived his Country of the Contributions the Villages had made. *Titus* was constant in his Friendship and Favours, *Philopœmen* often dissolved them in Anger; nay, his Passion seems to have cost him his Life, by his eager Onset on the *Messenians* alone; but *Titus*, on the contrary, took all imaginable Care of the safety of the General. The Number of the Battles fought by *Philopœmen* makes his Military Skill the more conspicuous; he decided the *Macedonic* War at Two Battles; this in the rising and most flourishing State of the *Roman* Power, he in the decay of the *Greeks* gain'd a great and celebrated Name. Whatever *Philopœmen* did was only owing to himself, *Titus* had Sharers in what he performed; he Commanded bold and good Men, but this form'd, and made those so who had been otherwise. *Philopœmen* vanquished the most Courageous by his Valour, and the most cunning by his Conduct. *Titus* had his Men prepared by his Ancestors, and so arriv'd at Victory. *Philopœmen* acted many Gallant Actions with his own Hands, *Titus* none. He himself delivered *Messene* from *Nabis*, and restor'd its Liberty; and a Private Man shuts the Gates of *Lacedæmon* against *Diophanes* and *Titus* the *Roman* Consul. *Titus* was Generous and extreamly Beneficial to the *Greeks*, But *Philopœmen*'s Zeal for his Countries Liberty carries something more Generous. But to end so difficult a Parallel, I hope we may fairly give the *Greek* here the Crown of War, and the *Roman* that of Justice and Clemency.

The

# PYRRHUS.

*Pyrrhus* was the Son of *Æacides*, and *Phthia* the Daughter of *Menon*; but the *Molossians* falling into Factions deposed *Æacides*, and cut of all his Friends that came to their Hands, and set up the Sons of *Neoptolemus* in his Room. *Androclion*, *Hippias*, and *Neander*, Three Vigorous Young Fellows, bore *Pyrrhus*, yet an Infant, through various Adventures, Difficulties and Hazards, to *Glaucias*, King of *Illyria*. But the King being afraid of *Cassander*, that was an Enemy to the Child, was a while at Debate with himself what to do, when the Boy crawling on the Ground First, seem'd to embrace his Feet, and taking hold of his Garment, raised himself up to his Knees, soothing him as it were, first moved his Laughter, and then his Compassion, as if by these Actions he had committed his safety to the King's Protection. The King being therefore touched, not only gave him his Education with his own Sons, but at Twelve Years Old restored him to his Kingdom.

*Some peculiar Qualities of Pyrrhus.*

The Air of his Face was more fierce, than majestic, his Teeth were few, his Upper Jaw being one continued Bone, and his great Toe of his Right Foot was look'd on as Divine, curing the Spleen with a Touch of it, and the sacrificing a White Cock; and it is reported, that when his Body was Burnt that Toe remained whole and untouch'd. The Kingdom being in appearance well settled, he ventured at Seventeen to leave his Kingdom to go to the Marriage of one of the Sons of *Glaucias*, with whom he was Bred up; but the *Molossians* in his Absence rebelled again, and set up *Neoptolemus*, turning out all of the Party of *Pyrrhus*. He therefore applies himself to *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, who had married his Sister *Deidamia*. And at the great Battel of *Ipsus*, where so many Kings were engaged, *Pyrrhus* being on the Side of *Demetrius*, tho' a Youth, routed those he encountred. He was afterwards sent Hostage to *Ptolemy* into *Egypt* by *Demetrius*, where both in his Exercises and Hunting he gave Proofs of his Courage and Strength.

Strength. Here he married *Antigone*, the Daughter of *Berenice*, the most Beloved of *Ptolomy*'s Wives; by whose Mediation and Interest *Ptolomy* sent him into *Epirus* with Forces to recover his Kingdom; where tho' well received by many who hated the Arbitrary Government of *Neoptolemus*, he thought it the most politick Way to come to an Agreement and Partition of the Royal Dignity with him. But Society being almost imcomparable in Royalty, *Neoptolemus* designs to poison *Pyrrhus*, which Design being made sufficiently evident to *Pyrrhus*, he dissembling the Matter, invites *Neoptolemus* to Supper, and there kills him. In Memory of *Berenice* and *Ptolomy* he named his Son by *Antigone Ptolomy*, and Built the City of *Berenicis* in the *Peninsula* of *Epirus*. Fortune in the mean while offering him a fair Opportunity, he designs to reduce *Macedon* under his Dominion. For *Antipater* having murthered his Mother *Thessalonica*, and expell'd his Brother *Alexander*, he sent to *Pyrrhus* to come to his Assistance, and for that Service surrendred to him by Agreement *Nymphea*, and the Sea Coasts of *Macedon*, *Ambracea*, *Acarnanea*, and *Symphilochia*; which *Pyrrhus* having well Garrisoned, kept the rest of the Country which he gained from *Antipater* for *Alexander*, whose Affairs being thus established, *Demetrius* detained till then from coming by other Business, advances with his Army to his Assistance; but his coming being undesired, strook a Terror into *Alexander*; they had not been long together, but mutual Jealousies made them design on each others Lives; but *Demetrius* being too quick for the Young King, kill'd him, and proclaimed himself King of *Macedon*.

*He marries* Antegone, *Daughter-in-Law of* Ptolomy.

Brutes, *the City of* Berenites.

These Jealousies between *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* being great, as of Two Great and Neighbouring Princes, whose Ambition desired the enlarging their Dominions on the Death of *Deidamia*, broke out into Hostilities, both now having seiz'd on *Macedon*. *Demetrius* having vanquished the *Ætolians*, leaving *Pantanchus*, his most valiant and chief Commander there with part of his Forces, and with the rest marched directly against *Pyrrhus*; but taking different Routs they miss'd one another, *Demetrius* falling into *Epirus*, and *Pyrrhus* coming against *Pantanchus*; and while the Battle was fierce on both Sides, *Pantanchus* being Tall, and of great Strength and Courage, challeng'd *Pyrrhus* to single Combat; *Pyrrhus* claiming his Descent from *Achilles* more by Virtue than Birth, advanced against him from the Front of the Army. *Pyrrhus* received One Wound, but with Two returned on *Pantanchus* brought him to the Ground,

but

but cou'd not kill him, since his Men rescued and carried him off; the *Epirots* exalted with this Victory of their King, fell on the *Macedonian Phalanx* with such Vigour and Resolution, that they took 5000 Prisoners, and put to flight and killed the rest. This Fight gain'd *Pyrrhus* e'en with the Enemy such Reputation, that they liken'd him to *Alexander* the Great, both for his Countenance and Swiftness in Motion, and his Vivacity and Strength in Fight, and Greatness of Mind and Valour. *Pyrrhus* was indeed a great Master of Military Affairs, as his Commentaries prove. *Antigonus* preferr'd him often to all his Contemporaries, and *Hannibal* gave him the first Place. To his Familiars he was Mild, Affable, and not easily incens'd, and extreamly ready and liberal in returning Obligations. Being urged to banish a railing Fellow from *Ambracia* for abusing him, he reply'd, *I had rather he shou'd rail at me here to a few, than by being forced to wander about rail at me to a great many.* Two Young Men having reflected on him in their Cups, were questioned by him of the Truth; *Yes Sir*, reply'd one of them, *we said those Words, and had we a drank more we shou'd have said more.* The King smiling at the Answer dismiss'd them without any Punishment.

*The Victory of Pyrrhus.*

*His Wives.* *Pyrrhus* after the Death of *Antigone* married (to enlarge his Power) several Wives, the King of *Paeonai*'s Daughter, *Barcenna*, *Bardillis*, the *Illyaian*'s Daughter, and *Lanassa*, the Daughter of *Agathocles* of *Syracuse*. By *Antigone* he had *Ptolomy*, by *Lanassa Alexander*, and *Helenus* by *Bercenna*; all Men of Courage and, train'd by him to the War from their Cradles. One of his Sons asking him to which of them he wou'd leave his Kingdom? He replied, *To him that had the sharpest Sword?* After this Battle, returning home full of Glory, he was call'd by the *Epirots* the *Eagle*; and on the News of the Sickness of *Demetrias*, makes an Inroad into his Country, but is forc'd to Retreat with some Loss, after he had met with unexpected Success; soon after a Peace was made betwixt him and *Demetrius*. This was a Peace of no long duration, for sollicited by the Princes who were apprehensive of the great Preparations of *Demetrius*, and by himself for marrying his Wife *Lanassa*, who disgusted with his Fondness of some other of his Wives, fled to *Cercyra*, married *Demetrius*, and gave up that Cityto his Garrison. He with 100000 Men, and 500 Sail of Ships, aiming at great Matters, while he was engag'd against *Lysimachus* of *Thrace*, and other Princes, *Pyrrhus* in Confidence of a Vision of

*Alexander*

*Alexander the Great*, over-running all the Places betwixt, ſoon alſo takes *Berœa*. *Demetrius* hearing of this, laying aſide his other Expedition, marches againſt *Pyrrhus*, and having encamp'd near *Berœa*, many of that City coming into the Camp, were full of the Praiſes of *Pyrrhus*, calling him the Father of Soldiers, and the Benefactor of all Men; they perſwade the *Macedonians* to quit the Government of *Demetrius*, and come over to *Pyrrhus*, a Gracious Prince, and a Lover of Soldiers. This Diſpoſition being by *Demetrius* found in the Army, he fled away in a private Habit, and *Pyrrhus* was declar'd King of *Macedon*; but in a little time after at *Edeſſa* he left it to *Lyſimachus*, juſt as he got it from *Demetrius*, by the fickle Temper of the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who revolted to *Lyſimachus*, and he with his *Epirots* retired into his own Country, where tho' he might have liv'd in Peace and Quiet, yet on the Embaſſy of the *Tarentines*, to deſire him to be their Commander againſt the *Romans*, he paſt into *Italy*. The *Tarentines*, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians* and *Samnites*, were in a Confederacy, to whom *Pyrrhus* brought 3000 Horſe, 2000 Foot, and 2000 Archers, and 5000 Slugers, and Twenty Elephants; but in paſſing the Sea met with a great Storm, which diſperſed his Ships ſome into the *Lybia*, ſome into the *Sicilian* Seas, and put himſelf into manifeſt Danger; but with the Admiral bearing up againſt the Storm he was almoſt Shipwreck'd on the Coaſts of the *Meſſapians*, who took great Care of him, and thoſe who were with him thrown there Aſhore; and ſoon ſet out thence with 800 Elephants, and almoſt 2000 Foot, to *Tarentum*, whence *Cineas* drew out his Forces to meet him. Having enter'd *Tarentum*, he brought ſo ſevere a Diſcipline upon them, that many left the Place, for he ſhut up their *Gymnaſia* and *Walks*, and compelled them to Arms. The *Roman* Conſul *Levinus* approaching with a great Army, he drew out his Men to receive them, but ſent a Herald before to them, to propoſe himſelf as a Judge betwixt the *Tarentines* and them; the *Romans* reply, *That they had not choſe him for an Umpire of the Controverſie, nor fear'd him as an Enemy*; upon which *Pyrrhus* advanc'd and encamp'd betwixt *Pandoſia* and *Heraclea*, divided from the Enemy by the River *Lyris*, to which he rode to take a View of their Camp, and avow'd to *Megacles* that there was nothing Barbarous in their Order; and having in vain endeavoured to hinder them paſſing the River, he drew up in Battalia, and omitted no Duty of a good Soldier and General. Being attack'd particularly, and ſingled out

*Pyrrhus declared King of Macedon.*

*He takes Poſſeſſion of Tarentium.*

out by an *Italian*, tho' told of it, avoided him not; but the *Italian* having killed his Horſe, had his own kill'd by *Leonatus*; and being ſurrounded and kill'd by the Friends of *Pyrrhus*, the King eſcaped; but chang'd Habits with *Megacles*, which ſecured his Perſon, but had like to have loſt the Day; for when *Megacles* was kill'd by *Dexter*, he was fain to ride about with his Face bare to convince his diſ-ſpirited Soldiers that he was alive. Seven Turns were there of this Battle; and the Elephants at laſt diſordering the *Roman* Cavalry, they were put to flight with the Loſs of 15000 Men, according to ſome, or 7000 as others, and *Pyrrhus* loſt 13000, or as others only, 3000, the Flower of his Army, and his beſt Friends; they then took and plundered the *Roman* Camp, and march'd, waſting the Country within 37 Miles of *Rome* itſelf. But the great Preparations of the *Romans*, and the Valour they had diſcovered in that Engagement, made *Pyrrhus* willing to agree Matters with them. *Cineas* is therefore ſent to *Rome*, but his Preſents being refuſed by all, and his Perſuaſions to Peace being deſtroyed by the Speech of *Appius Claudius*, he returned with this Anſwer to *Pyrrhus*, *That to obtain Peace and their Friendſhip he muſt quit* Italy, *for till then there cou'd be nothing but War.* *Pyrrhus* then asking *Cineas* his Opinion of *Rome*, he reply'd, *That the Senate appeared like an Aſſembly of Kings, and the People like* Lyrnæan Hydra's, *never to be all deſtroyed.* *C. Fabritius*, a little after came Ambaſſador to him, to treat about the Priſoners; *Pyrrhus* try'd to engage him by Preſents of Gold, his Fortune being narrow, but with an invincible Mind he refus'd the Bribe. The next Day, *Fabritius* having never ſeen an Elephant, *Pyrrhus* had ordered the biggeſt to be placed, compleatly armed, behind the Hangings; which on a Signal being drawn aſide, the Elephant raiſing his Trunk over the Head of *Fabritius*, made a terrible Noiſe; but he turning to *Pyrrhus*, ſaid with a Smile, *Neither your Money Yeſterday, nor the Beaſt to Day, move me at all.*

*His Victory over the* Romans.

The Greatneſs of the Mind of *Fabritius* giving him ſuch an Admiration, made him ſtill the more eager to make a Peace with the *Romans*; but the Senate refuſing all Terms till he was returned into his own Country, *Fabritius* is made Conſul againſt him. Who having received a Letter from the King's *Phyſician*, which profer'd to poiſon him on ſuch Conditions, ſent it to *Pyrrhus*, letting him know how bad a Choice he had made

made of his Friends and Enemies. After which *Fabritius* fought Two Battles with him near the City of *Asculum*, with great Slaughter on both Sides, *Pyrrhus* drove the *Romans* to their Camp, and was himself Wounded by a Javelin in the Arm; so that he reply'd to one that joy'd him on the Victory, *That such another Victory wou'd undo him; for the greatest and most valuable Part of his Soldiers were slain, and most of his chief Officers perished.*

About this Time some People coming from the *Agrigentines*, *Syracusians*, and *Leontines*, desiring him to come into *Sicily*, to expel the *Carthaginians* and *Tyrants*; at the same time the Death of *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, and the Destruction of his Army, with the want the *Macedonians* were in of a King, call'd him to *Greece*, but he fix'd on *Sicily*, as the more feasible Undertaking; so placing a Garrison in *Tarentum*, much against the Wills and Remonstrance of the People, he passed into *Sicily* with 30000 Foot, 2500 Horse, and 200 Sail of Ships. He soon broke the *Phœnicians*; and getting first at the Walls of *Eryx* himself, making a great Slaughter of the Foe, took the Town; he also vanquished the *Mamertines*, and being puffed up by these other Successes, by oppressing and depopulating the Cities, he incurr'd the Imputation of Tyranny and Ingratitude. But having yet greater Designs in his Head, he prepares his Fleet for *Africa*; but his Arbitrary Conduct in raising Seamen, his putting to Death *Thean* and *Sostratus*, Two of the Principal Nobleman of *Syracuse*, and who invited him into *Sicily*, and gave up the Cities to him, many revolted to the *Carthaginians* and the *Mamertines*. This Defection being considered by *Pyrrhus*, as a Proof how impossible it was to keep them in Subjection, being therefore sollicited to return to the *Tarentines*, he with some Difficulty repass'd with his Army into *Italy*; for in his Retreat, he was variously attack'd after his landing by a Body of *Mamertines* in the narrow Passes, he was wounded in the Head, and retiring was challenged by one of the *Barbarians*, and forcing his Way to him, *Pyrrhus* cut him asunder from the Head to the Chine, the Terror of which, gave quiet and security in the rest of his March, till he arrived at *Tarentum* with 20000 Foot and 3000 Horse; with the choice of these, and some *Tarentine* Recruits, he marched against *Marius* at *Beneventum*, by whom being beaten, and losing *Sicily* and *Italy*, he returned into *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot and 500 Horse; but wanting Money to pay them, and some *Gauls* joining him, he made an Inroad

*His Voyage to Sicily against the Carthaginians.*

*He returns to Epirus.*

road into *Macedon* to plunder the Country; but at the *Streights*, encountring *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, he overthrew him, and taking many Cities, and all the Country, left him only the *Maritime* Towns. *Antigonus* therefore being expell'd, and *Ægis* being taken, *Cleonymus*, King of *Sparta*, came to him, and invited him to go againſt *Lacedæmon*, which he willlingly undertook, and marched with 20000 Foot, 2000 Horſe, and 25 Elephants; being always deſirous of ſomething new, and unquiet, he ſoon pitch'd his Tents under the Walls of *Sparta*; but the Bravery of the Inhabitants was ſo great, that he found a vigorous Repulſe in the firſt Aſſault, and in the Second, his Horſe being killed under him as he was breaking in upon the *Spartans*, threw him, and ſo obliged him to a Second Retreat; and *Amenias* being received into the Town, and *Areus* arriving at the ſame time with 2000 *Cretans*, after ſeveral Diſapointments *Pyrrhus* raiſed the Siege, and plundered the Country. But a Quarrel happening at *Argos* betwixt *Ariſteus* and *Ariſtippus*, principal Citizens of that City, the firſt invited *Pyrrhus*, the latter *Antigonus*; *Areus*, King of *Sparta*, very much incommoded his Rear. But *Pyrrhus* having Intelligence that his Son *Ptolomy* was killed by a *Cretan*, and his Men flying before the *Spartans*, Commanded by *Evalius*, with his *Moloſſian* Horſe drove on them, and killed with his own Hands *Evalius*, and all that fought about him, ſacrificing all to the *Manes* of his Son; and after this Defeat of the *Spartans* he went directly to *Argos*. *Antigonus* being encamped on the higher Grounds, *Pyrrhus* challenges him to fight with him on the Plain for the Kingdom, which he refuſed; then the *Argives* ſent Ambaſſadors to both, to deſire their Retreat from their Country. *Antigonus* complied, and ſent his Son Hoſtage, but *Pyrrhus* promiſed a Receſs, but ſent no Hoſtage. *Ariſtæus* by Night admits *Pyrrhus* and the *Gauls*, who took Poſſeſſion of the Market-place undiſcovered; but the Gates being too low for the Elephants to enter with their Caſtles on, the taking them off and putting them on ſpent Time, and alarmed the People, who arming themſelves, and flying to their chief Citadel *Aſpis*, ſent for *Antigonus*, who with Arms and a Thouſand *Cretans* ſent to their Aſſiſtance his Son; *Pyrrhus* at Day-break coming into the Market-place, was very much diſturbed to ſee the *Aſpis* poſſeſſed by the Enemy, and more at an Image there of a Wolf and a Bull fighting, it having been foretold him, that where he would ſee a Bull and a Wolf fighting he ſhould

*He beſieges Lacedemon,*

*The Siege raiſed.*

*Goes to Argos.*

ſhould loſe his Life. Tho' terrified with this Fatal Omen, yet fighting Manfully in the Crowd, and being ſlightly Wounded by a Spear, he turned to the Aggreſſor, a Plebeian, whoſe Mother, a poor Woman, beheld the Fight from the Houſe-top, and in fear for her Son, engaged with ſo powerful an Enemy, threw a Tile with both her Hands on *Pyrrhus*, which ſtunning him he ſunk down, and was preſently ſeiz'd by ſome of *Antigonus*'s Soldiers; and as the Man was going to cut off his Head on a Threſhold, he opened his Eyes, and look'd ſo terribly, that, frighted, he did his Work but awkwardly; but his Head being off, it was carried to *Antigonus*, who gave that and his Body an Honourable Funeral, and ſent his Son *Helenus* Home to *Epirus* with Honour. *His Death.*

# The LIFE of *CAIUS MARIUS.*

*His Origin.* THE Father of *Caius Marius* was *Marius*, his Mother *Fulcinia*, People obſcure and indigent, and ſupporting themſelves by their Labour. Leaving his Country Life, in which he had ſpent much Time, our *Marius* went to *Rome*, and being naturally inclin'd to War, liſted himſelf under *Scipio Africanus* for the Siege of *Numantia*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Courage from all the Young Men of the Army. He challeng'd and vanquiſh'd one of the Enemy's in the General's Sight, and for it receiv'd many Honours. But *Scipio* gave him more Encouragement by anſwering one that asked him where after him they ſhould find ſuch another General? That they might perhaps find him in *Marius*.

This Saying of *Scipio* inſpir'd *Marius* with New Fire, New Thoughts (as by an Oracle) he demanded, and obtain'd the Tribuneſhip of the People by the Aſſiſtance of *Cæcilius Metellus*, a Dependant, of whoſe Family both he and his Father had been. In this Office he behav'd himſelf with a great deal of Reſolution, even againſt the Conſul *Cotta*, and his Patron *Metellus*, carrying a Law Derogatory to the Power of the Great Ones, and for the Populace, which got him much Favour among them; and he gain'd Honour afterwards on both Sides, by oppoſing the People about the Diſtribution of Corn, as making only the Publick Good his View. Standing for the Place of Chief *Ædile* he loſt it, and in the ſame Day was again repuls'd in his Pretenſions to the under *Ædileſhip*. But a little while after he, with great Difficulty, and not without being accuſed of indirect Means, carried the Prætorſhip; but being with ſome Difficulty acquitted of this Accuſation by the Judges, he got not much Honour in the Diſcharge of this Office. On its Expiration he obtain'd the Province of the farther *Spain*, which he freed from Robbery, with which it was extreamly infeſted. Returning to *Rome* he gain'd Authority, not by

*To make Tribune of the People.*

*And Prætor.*

Riches,

Riches, or by Eloquence, the Ways then to Power; but by his familiar and popular Way of Converſation and Living, and indefatigable Pains, by which he got great Eſteem and Wealth. He Married *Julia*, of the Illuſtrious Family of the *Cæſars*, whoſe Nephew was *Julius Cæſar*, afterwards ſo Famous in this State. *His Wife* Julia.

After this he was Lieutenant-General to *Metellus* in the Wars of *Jugurtha*, and did there many Gallant Actions, not avoiding the moſt dangerous Attempt, nor refuſing the moſt inconſiderable Undertaking, by his Labour, Courage, and Conduct, charm'd all the Hearts of the Soldiers, filling *Africa* and *Rome* with his Name: And ſeveral wrote from the Army that they muſt never expect an end of the War with the *Barbarians* unleſs *Marius* were made Conſul. Having with much ado got his Diſcharge from *Metellus*, (now his Enemy for his ingrateful Conduct,) but Twelve Days before the Election, in Two reach'd *Utica*, and in Four more paſs'd the Sea, and arriv'd at *Rome*, and was receiv'd with the univerſal Applauſe of the People. He rail'd at *Metellus*, ſought the Conſulſhip, and obtain'd it, promiſing *Jugurtha* dead or alive. Being choſen, he liſted Slaves and Poor People, contrary to Cuſtom and Law; Arms till then only being beſtowed on Perſons of Deſcent. With theſe Forces he ſail'd into *Africa*, and now drove *Jugurtha* to fly to his Father-in-law *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, whom *Metellus* had before as good as expell'd him his Kingdom. As *Bocchus* receiv'd him more out of Fear than any Good-will, ſo he diſpatched Letters to *Marius* to ſend *Sylla* to him. *Sylla* was then *Quæſtor*, and ſignaliz'd himſelf in many Brave Actions. On *Sylla*'s Approach *Bocchus* was ſome Time in ſuſpence whether he ſhould betray *Sylla* to *Jugurtha*, or *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*; but the Reſult of this Debate in himſelf was to deliver *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*. Hence ſprung the firſt Seeds of that Civil War, which almoſt ruin'd the *Roman* Empire; the Enemies of *Marius* attributing the Beginning of the War to *Metellus*, and the Concluſion to *Sylla*; who alſo added to the Spleen of *Marius* by making a Seal, that he conſtantly us'd, of this Surrender of *Jugurtha* to him. But the *Cymbrian* War ſmother'd theſe Things for a while, for no ſooner was the Noiſe of *Jugurtha*'s Defeat over, but the News of the Invaſion of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri* arriv'd at *Rome*. The Terror was ſo great, that an Able and Succeſsful General was thought neceſſary, and none of Quality ſtanding for the Conſulſhip, *Marius* was choſen in his Abſence, tho' contrary to Law, which the People made give Way to the Publick Exigency. *The Cimbrian War.*

*Marius* therefore coming over from *Africa*, with his Legions, aſſumes the Conſulſhip, and Triumphs, leading and expoſing *Jugurtha* in the Cavalcade. In this Triumph was brought 3007 Pound Weight of Gold, of Silver Bullion 5775, of Gold and Silver Coin 17028 *Drachmas*. But now applying himſelf to this New Expedition, he led his Soldiers out, inuring them to Labour, long Marches, and daily Diſcipline; and the Enemy taking another Courſe, gave him the more Time to exerciſe them, and wean them from a Fear of the *Barbarians*, and to render his own Stern Countenance and Inflexible Temper the more familiar to them, and make them think it only terrible to their Enemy: Beſides, he was rigidly exact in adminiſtring Juſtice, which very much ingratiated him with the Soldiers; this was confirm'd by the Death of *C. Lucius*, his Nephew by his Siſter, who was kill'd by *Trebonius*, a Handſome Youth, whom he had attempted to abuſe unnaturally. He being ſummoned before *Marius*, and having clear'd his Innocence, by proving the Fact, *Marius* not only acquitted him, but likewiſe crown'd him with a Wreath, as having done a Brave Action. This reaching *Rome*, won ſo much with the People, that they choſe him a Third Time Conſul, tho' the Approach of the *Barbarians* at that Time was a great Reaſon of it, they being unwilling to truſt Affairs in that Poſture to any other. But their Arrival was not ſo ſoon as they expected, ſo that his Third Conſulſhip expiring, and the Election coming on, he left the Army to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned to *Rome*, and was the Fourth Time choſen Conſul with *Catulus Lutaſius*.

*Marius* having aſſum'd the Office, leads his Men immediately over the *Alps*, and encamps near the Mouth of the *Rhoſne*, where he took Care to be plentifully ſtor'd with Proviſions; the *Barbarians* dividing themſelves into Two Bodies, one encamp'd near *Marius*, the other march'd higher up againſt *Catulus*, to force their Paſſage that Way. The *Teutones* ravag'd the Country, and abus'd the *Romans*, provoking them to come out of their Entrenchments to fight; but the Conſul kept them in, and curb'd the moſt forward that were for Sallying by his Authority; for he by this Means made the horrid Roughneſs of the Voices and Appearance of the *Barbarians* more familiar to his Men, and ſo took away their Terror, founded chiefly in Novelty; and thus brought them acquainted with their Arms, and Manner of uſing them. This rais'd the *Romans* Courage, and made them more eager for the Onſet. The *Teutones* venturing to ſtorm the Entrenchments, were repuls'd with ſo great a Loſs that they reſolved to march forwards

forwards to *Italy*, and as they paſs'd the Camp Scoffingly ask'd them if they had any Services to their Wives and Families, with whom in a little time they would be. Seven Days they were paſſing by, and when they were gone *Marius* decamp'd, and follow'd them at a little Diſtance, and beating the Rear in Skirmiſhes, till they came to *Aquæ Sexitliæ*, not far from the *Alps*, where *Marius* made ready for the Encounter, encamping in a Place deſtitute of Water, which when they complained for want of, *Marius* ſhow'd them the River near the Enemy's Camp, and told them there was Water to be had at the Expence of their Blood; why then, ſaid they, do not you lead us thither, that we may at leaſt have ſomething Liquid, tho' it be Blood? But firſt, ſays he, let us fortifie our Camp, which all obey'd, notwithſtanding their Thirſt.

*The firſt Battle with the* Barbarians, *and Victory.*

The Boys and Pedees going to the River for Water for Themſelves and Horſes, with Darts in one Hand, and Pitchers in the other, were ſet on by a Party of the Enemy; but the Slaves falling on them with Shouts, brought in more of their Comrades, till 30000 of the *Ambrones*, the moſt Warlike of the *Barbarians*, took the Alarm, crying out in a Shout, *Ambrones*, either to encourage themſelves, or affright their Enemies. The *Ligurians* being the firſt that fell on, eccho'd the ſame Word back, being the Ancient Name of their Country, with his Reiteration of this Name they came to Blows; but the *Ligurians* not being ſtrong enough to maintain the Fight, the *Romans* came with a Deſcent, pouring on them with ſuch a Force that they made ſuch a Slaughter of the *Ambrones*, that the River was fill'd with their Blood and dead Bodies. The next Day but one *Marius* ſent *Claudius Marcellus* with 3000 Men to a Woody Hill and Clifts on the Rear of the Enemy to lye in Ambuſcade. *Marius* having drawn out his Men, and order'd them to expect the Foe, and diſcharging their Piles, to unite their Bucklers, and make uſe of their Swords, the *Barbarians* eagerly aſſaulting the *Romans* under the Diſadvantage of the Ground, and *Marcellus* at the ſame time falling on their Rear, were entirely routed, the *Romans* killing 100000.

*The ſecond Battle and Victory.*

After this Victory he was ſent for to *Rome*, for fear of the *Cimbri*, with whom *Catulus* cou'd not deal; ſo refuſing to Triumph at that time, he with Expedition paſs'd to his Colleague, and with his Preſence gave them new Life, and ſent for his Army out of *Gallia*; and ſome time after by Agreement met them in the Plains of *Vercellæ*, where joining Battle, the *Romans* having the Advantage of the Sun, and *Marius* leading the Wings to de-

prive *Catulus* of his Share of the Victory, the *Cimbri* were totally routed with a mighty Slaughter; about 120000 were ſlain, and 60000 taken Priſoners, beſides thoſe murdered by their own Women, who likewiſe kill'd themſelves after this Defeat.

*Catulus* took care to have the Enſigns, Trumpets, &c. brought to his Camp in Teſtimony of his getting the Victory, on which a Controverſie ariſing, the Ambaſſadors of *Parma* being preſent were choſe Judges, and by *Catulus*'s Name on the Piles in the dead Enemy, gave it to him, but yet *Marius* had the Reputation ſolely of it; and the People calling him the Third Founder of the City, would have had him only Triumph for it; but he to ingratiate himſelf with the Soldiers of *Catulus* wou'd have him ſhare the Triumph with him.

He now aiming at the ſixth Conſulſhip, derogated very much from the Dignity of the Magiſtracy, and is choſen by his Largeſſes among the Tribes, and the Means of *Glaucias* and *Saturninus*, Leaders of the Poor, and more Seditious Sort of People. So *Metellus* is excluded, and *Valerius Flaccus*, his Creature and Tool, more than Colleague, elected. The Enmity he had to *Metellus* he proſecuted to his Exile; and he being removed, he aim'd at the Tyranny, and murdered many of the Nobility in the *Forum* after the Publick Faith had been given for their Security; ſo growing odious to the Nobility and People, and unable to prevent the recalling of *Metellus*, pretending a Vow to the Goddeſs *Cybelle*, he took a Voyage to *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; having there endeavour'd to provoke *Mithridates* by bold Speeches, in Hopes of being choſen General againſt him, he returns to *Rome*, Built himſelf a Houſe in the *Forum*, and was extreamly diſguſted at a Votive Table ſent by *Bocchus* to the Capitol, in which was himſelf delivering up *Jugurtha* to *Sylla*, and endeavour'd to throw it down, leſt *Sylla*, who was only his Lieutenant, ſhould carry the Fame of that Victory from him; which when *Sylla* oppoſed, there aroſe a greater Tumult and Sedition than was ever known in the City before. But the *Social* War breaking out, put a Stop to the Civil for a while, but that being over, Civil Wars aroſe betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*. *Quintus Pompeius* and *Sylla* were then Conſuls, againſt whom, when *Marius*, by the Advice of *Sulpitius*, Three aroſe in Arms, and ſeizing the Son of one of the Conſuls, murdered him; and *Sylla* made his Eſcape through the Houſe of *Marius* to the Army. *Marius* being made *Prætor*, ſet many of *Sylla*'s Slaves at Liberty, and made them Free; when *Sylla* bringing his Army of 30000 Foot,

Foot, and 5000 Horſe, to *Rome*, kill'd Two of the Tribunes ſent againſt him by *Marius*, who a while making Head againſt *Sylla*'s Aſſault, at laſt fled away, unable any longer to reſiſt him. He firſt fled to his Country Houſe of *Solonium*, and from thence to *Oſtia*, and got a Shipboard, but by Storm was forc'd to Land again at *Circæum*, being now near *Minturnæ*, purſued by a Party of Horſe; his Company ſeeing Two Ships under Sail, bore him through the Waves to one, and *Granus* ſeiz'd the other, and paſs'd over to the Iſland *Ænana*: The Soldiers coming to the Shore, commanded them to throw *Marius* Overboard, and come to Land, which they refuſing, the Soldiers went away in Indignation; but as ſoon as they were gone, and the Ship came to the Mouth of the River *Lius*, they perſwaded him to go refreſh himſelf aſhore, which when he had done, they Sail'd away, and left him. But *Marius* paſſing by the Fens and Bogs, came to a Poor Old Man's Cottage, who told him that if he wanted Repoſe his Cottage wou'd be beſt for him, but that if he fled the hollow Places in the Fens wou'd hide him with more Security. But ſoon after he was hid in the hollow Cave on the River, the Old Man being terrify'd by his Purſuers for hiding an Enemy of *Rome*, he was fain to leave the Cave, and plunge into the Bog, and yet was dragg'd thence in a woful Pickle, and carried Priſoner to *Minturnæ*, to be there put to Death; but when the Executioner came into the Room where he was Priſoner with his Sword to put an End to his Life, the *Gaul*, (for ſuch was the Executioner,) it not being very Light, thought he ſaw Lightning dart from the Eyes of *Marius* and Thunder from his Voice, when he ſaid, *Dar'ſt thou kill Caius Marius?* The Fellow quite agaſt at theſe Words, fled the Room, ſaying, he could not kill *Caius Marius*. The People of *Minturnæ* on this took off his Chains, and Honourably attended him to the Sea, and put him a Shipboard, and ſailing thence he was forc'd on the Coaſt of *Ænaria*, where he found his Son-in-law *Granius* and his Friends, with whom paſſing to *Africa*, they were oblig'd to call for Water at *Erycina* in *Sicily*, where, loſing by the *Roman Quæſtor* ſeveral of his Company, he ſet Sail for *Africa* in hopes that his Sons and *Cethegus*'s Application to *Hyempſal* would produce ſome Relief. But being forbid Landing by the *Roman Pretor Sextilius*, and his Son being ſecured by *Hyempſal*, he (with his Son) now eſcaped to him by the Favour of the Queen, went immediately on Board a Fiſher-boat, and made to *Corcina*. But hearing that *Sylla* was gone to the Wars againſt *Mithridates*,

*dates*, and that the Consuls were at War; *Cinna* being expell'd the City by *Octavius*, and depos'd, and *Cornelius Merula* elected in his Room; and that *Cinna* was raising Men, and carrying on his Cause in *Italy*, raising some in *Africa*, and with others that came to him from *Italy*, he arrives at *Telamone* in *Etruria*, where setting many Free, and perswading the Country People to List themselves, he soon made a tolerable Army, and sent to *Cinna*, that he submitted to him as Consul, and was ready to obey his Commands. *Cinna* received him with Joy; and after having taken many Sea-ports, and *Ostia* itself, they marched towards *Rome*; and then the Soldiers of *Octavius* being disgusted that *Metellus* Junior would not Head them, revolted to *Marius* and *Cinna*, who were now invited to come peaceably into the City. The Consul entred, but *Marius* pretending to wait without the Gate till his Banishment was repealed, soon after entred with his Guard of Slaves, and murdered abundance of the Nobility without Distinction, making the Streets run with Blood. In the mean while News from all Hands came of the Approach of *Sylla* with his Army, with which he had conquered *Mithridates*; so *Marius* was the Seventh time chosen Consul, and threw *Sextus Lucius* from the *Tarpeian* Rock the first Day of the Year, which was look'd on as an ill Omen to him and the City.

But *Sylla* now coming near the City, overcome with Pains, Labour, Age, and Care, running over in his Mind the Hazard of his Exile, and Fears of more Mischief, he could have no Rest Day nor Night, still fancying he heard Somebody continually telling him, *That the Den of an absent Lion is terrible.* But fresh News of the State of Affairs and *Sylla*'s Approach coming to him, he was wore out, and died in about Six Days Time, and the Seventeenth of his Seventh Consulship.

The

# The LIFE of LYSANDER.

*Ariſtoclitus*, the Father of *Lyſander*, was of the Race of the *Heraclidæ* and *Lyſander* being bred up under much Hardſhip, us'd himſelf early to the Diſcipline of his Country; he deſpiſed all Pleaſure but that which proceeded from the Glory of Brave Actions, which made him never avoid any Honourable Labour and Fatigue; but this he deriv'd from his Country and Education; when as his paying a Servile Deference to Great Men, and his too patiently bearing their Frowns, was the Effect of Policy and Intereſt. In his Age he was enclined to Melancholy; but his Eaſe in Poverty, and Continence in Affluence, moſt diſtinguiſhed his Character. For tho' his Circumſtances were very narrow, he always preſerv'd himſelf uncorrupted by Money; for bringing from the *Attic* War abundance of Wealth, it is ceriain he kept none to himſelf, but divided it among his Citizens, at the ſame time maintaining his own Integrity, and corrupting that of others. *His Continence.*

The *Athenians* having received a Fatal Blow in *Sicily*, to retrieve their Misfortune they recalled *Alcibiades* from Exile, and making him their General, he managing the War with better Succeſs. This rouz'd the *Lacedæmonians* to make greater Preparations, and to ſet *Lyſander* at the Head of Affairs, as the fitteſt Man they had to cope with the former. *Lyſander* immediately ſet Sail for *Epheſus*, which he made his Port, and thence went to ſee *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, and to complain of *Tiſſaphernes* for not giving the *Spartans* the Aſſiſtance he was order'd, being Byaſs'd by the Influence of *Alcibiades* from his Duty. *Cyrus* receiv'd him very kindly, and bid him ask any thing of him, ſecure of no Repulſe; but *Lyſander* only deſir'd him to augment the Pay of the Seamen; *Cyrus* was ſo pleas'd with his Modeſty, that he gave him Ten Thouſand Pieces of Silver, with this Money he made ſuch an Addition to the Seamens Wages, that he had not a few Deſerters from the Enemy. Merceuaries always going to that Side where there is moſt Money to be got: So that they left the *Athenian* Fleet not above half Man'd. However it was too ſtrong and

and numerous for *Lyſander* to venture an Engagement while *Alcibiades* was at its Head; but he now having Occaſion to go from *Samos* to *Phocæa*, left *Antiochus*, his Vice-Admiral, who, ſailing often by the Port of *Epheſus*, inſulted ſcornfully the *Spartan* Fleet; but *Lyſander* unable to bear their Inſolence longer, ſent out ſome Ships to fall in with their Rear, which brought both the Fleets to an Engagement, but *Lyſander* ſoon worſted *Antiochus*, and took Fifteen of his Ships.

*Lyſander's Victory.*

*Callicratidas*, his Succeſſor, being cut off at *Aginuſa*, upon the Deſire of the Confederates *Lyſander* was again ſent to Command the Fleet, at which arriving, tho' inferior to the Enemy, yet he took ſome Iſlands, and coming againſt the Coaſt of *Ægina* and *Salamis*, he ſail'd to *Attica*, where making for a while a Bravado as Maſter of the Seas, on the News of the Approach of the *Athenian* Navy, he made the beſt of his Way to *Aſia*. But paſſing the *Helleſpont* he found ſeveral Places ill provided, and took *Lampſacus* by Storm, giving his Soldiers the Plunder. The *Athenians* coming up, he kept his Fleet quiet in the Harbour, nor would for many Days anſwer the Challenge of the *Athenian* Navy to an Engagement. But this having given them a great Contempt of the *Spartans*, and ſo a neglect of them to that degree, that *Lyſander* coming on them found many aſhore, few in the Ships, and ſo falling on them, took and deſtroyed all the Fleet, but Eight Ships carried off by *Conon* into *Cyprus*. But *Lyſander* plundering the Camp, and taking 3000 Men, Officers and Soldiers, erected a Trophy, and marched back in Triumph to *Lampſacus*, and a little Time after put them all to Death.

*Lyſander's Victory.*

*Lyſander* exalted with this great Victory, propoſed to himſelf the reducing of *Athens* itſelf. For this Reaſon wherever he came he obliged all the *Athenians* he found to return immediately to *Athens* on Pain of Death, by this Means hoping to make the Surrender more Expeditious and Eaſie, by encreaſing their Number, and by that their Famine; nor was he diſappointed in his Expectation, for not long after the Neceſſity of that People prov'd ſo great that they were glad to take whatever Terms the *Spartans* would give them. *Athens* being thus taken, *Lyſander* by Order from *Lacedæmon* pulls down the Long Wall, and deſtroys the *Pyræum*, and other Fortifications, Muſick playing all the while, as they did whilſt the Navy was Burning. Here, as elſewhere, he alter'd the Form of Government, and putting a ſtrong Garriſon into the Caſtle, he conſtituted Thirty Governours over the City, and Ten over the *Piræum*.

*Athens taken.*

This

This great Succeſs had ſo exalted the Glory of *Lyſander*, that Altars were made to him in ſeveral Cities, and Hymns ſung to him as to a God; and the *Samians* dedicated the Feaſts to him, which were formerly celebrated in the Honour of *Juno*. The Pride and Ambition of *Lyſander* was uneaſie both to his Superiors and Equals, nor had his Puniſhments and Revenge any Bounds; and on the other Side, Prodigal to thoſe who were his Friends or Creatures, making them Abſolute Lords of Cities; but his Enemies ſeldom eſcaped his Revenge, which was only ſatisfied with the Death of the Offender. Thus by his Solemn Oath he aſſur'd the *Meleſians* of their Lives if they ſtay'd at Home, and fled not from him; but as ſoon as he, by that, had perſuaded them to a Belief, he cut 800 of them to Pieces at one Execution; and ſo great were the Slaughters he made through all *Greece*, that the Saying of *Etheocles* was Famous, *That it was Happy for* Greece *that ſhe brought not out Two* Lyſanders.

*Lyſander deify'd and ador'd by the Flattery of the* Greeks.

But *Lyſander* invading the Province of *Pharnabazus*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Sparta* to accuſe him to the Senate; and the *Ephori* highly reſenting it, recall'd him from *Aſia*. *Lyſander* apprehending ſome ill Effect of this Accuſation, procur'd an Interview with *Pharnabazus* before his Return, and begg'd of him Letters to teſtifie, that he had done him no Injury: The *Perſians* ſeemingly comply'd with his Deſires, and wrote Letters of the ſame Import, but contriv'd it ſo in the Sealing them up, as to Shuffle into his Hands others which highly aggravated his Crimes, and the Injuries done him. Thus being deceiv'd with his own Arts and Inſincerity, he deliver'd the *Ephori* his own Condemnation for his Juſtification; they having perus'd them, ſhow'd them to *Lyſander*, who diſguſted and vext at this, and to evade the ill Effects of them, pretends a Voyage to *Jupiter Ammon* to perform a Vow; but with much Difficulty obtain'd Leave of the Senate to go. His Power was ſo great through all *Greece*, that his Creatures commanded in moſt of the Cities, whom the *Ephori*, and Kings, took Care to diſmiſs, and put others in their Places, and ſuffer'd him to retire, the better to break his Power and Authority.

*The Cunning of* Pharnabazus.

He was of a haughty Temper, and bold Expreſſion; for when the *Argives* contended with the *Spartans* about the Limits of their Dominions, he told them the Sword was the beſt Argument they had to decide the Right. At the Siege of *Corinth*, when it went on but ſlowly, a Hare happen'd to leap the Ditch; *Is it not a Shame*, ſaid he, *for us to fear thoſe whoſe Sloth permits Hares to make their Forms in their very Walls.*

*Agis*

Ageſilaus made King.

*Agis* being now dead, *Lyſander* perſuaded *Ageſilaus* to put in his Claim to the Crown, becauſe *Leotycides* was declared by *Agis* himſelf to be none of his, his Mother having been familiar with *Alcibiades* during his Exile in *Sparta*. *Ageſilaus* having by the Arts and Intereſt of *Lyſander* obtain'd the Kingdom, preferr'd him to all his Friends, and making him his Chief Favourite, he was perſuaded by him to undertake an Expedition to *Aſia*, in hopes of pulling down the *Perſian* Monarchy. But when they came thither the Acquaintance of thoſe People with *Lyſander* drew all their Addreſs to him, and, with them, all their Reſpect and Veneration; and in all Actions willingly obey'd his Directions and Commands. But the King obſerving, that all the Court and Deference was paid to his Miniſter, and that he only retain'd the empty Name of King, began to envy his Power and Eſteem; ſo that forgetful of the former Benefits receiv'd from him, he made it his Buſineſs to deſtroy all his Power and Authority, and in Contempt of him, at the Promotion of Officers, the King made *Lyſander* his Caterer. Unable to break the King of his Suſpicions of him, he returned at laſt to *Sparta*, where he, in vain, endeavour'd, by forg'd Oracles, and the like, to work the People up againſt the King, that all the *Heraclidæ*, as well as the *Eurytiotidæ* and *Agiadæ*, nay, every *Spartan*, that acted bravely, like *Hercules*, had a Right to be choſen King.

While theſe Things were in Agitation, the *Athenians*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Thebans*, roſe againſt the Thirty Tyrants, and by the Help of *Thraſybulus* expell'd them; which when *Lyſander* had an Account of, he perſuaded the *Ephori* to ſend Aſſiſtance to the Governours, and to make him General in the Expedition. Taking on him the Command of the Army, he march'd through *Phocis*, the City of the *Orchomenians* ſurrendred to him, and marching thence, laid waſte *Lebadia*. Thence he ſent Letters to *Pauſanias* to meet him with his Forces at *Haliartus*; but the Letters being intercepted by ſome Parties of *Athenians*, they were brought to the *Thebans*, who immediately marched thither to prevent *Lyſander*, threw themſelves privately into the Town, and there lay quiet; but as ſoon as *Lyſander* with his Vanguard advanc'd to the Gates, they ſally'd out and kill'd him, one of his Prieſts, and a few more, and falling on the reſt, they with a great Slaughter put them to Flight. The *Thebans* in the Purſuit kill'd a Thouſand *Spartans*, and loſt Three Hundred of their Men. *Pauſanias*, contrary to the haughty Decree of the City, made a Truce with *Haliartus*, carry'd off the Body of *Lyſander*, and buried

Lyſander kill'd.

buried it in the Country of his Friends, the *Panopæans*. The Conduct of *Pauſanias* was ſo odious at *Sparta*, that they deſign'd to try him for his Life, but he not daring to ſtand a Trial, fled to the Temple of *Minerva* in *Tegea*. After his Death the Poverty of *Lyſander* appear'd more Eminent, for out of all thoſe vaſt Sums got from the Conquer'd Cities and Countries, he left not a Farthing in his own Coffers. *The Poverty of Lyſander.*

The *Spartans* beſtow'd many Honours on him after his Death, particularly in fining thoſe ſeverely who being contracted to his Daughters, on the Diſcovery of his Poverty had broke the Contract, and left them.

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# The LIFE of *Lucius Cornelius Sylla.*

*Lucius Cornelius Sylla* was of a Noble Patrician Family, but his Parents left him without any Fortune; for in his Younger Days he lived in hired Lodgings, and thoſe but of a ſmall Price, which was the Occaſion when he was in his Proſperity, boaſting his Grandeur and Deeds, a Man of Honour that was by ſaid to him, *How canſt thou be a Good and Honeſt Man, who haſt ſuch vaſt Riches, when thy Father left thee nothing?* When he had got the Supream Power into his Hands, and made a great Slaughter among the Citizens, a Freedman being condemned to be caſt down the *Tarpæian* Rock for concealing one of the Proſcrib'd, told him, That they had been Fellow Lodgers a great while, *Sylla* lying in the firſt, and he in the ſecond, Floor.

His Eyes were Grey, and his Face Red and Pimply, interſpers'd with White Whelks, whence, they ſay, he had his Name of *Sylla*. Wit, Railery, and Mirth, he was extreamly addicted to, and in his Youth a mighty Companion of Mimicks and Players; and even in the midſt of his Power he often had his Rendezvous with the Actors, and Merry Fellows of the Town, forgetting his Age and Dignity; to theſe Luxuries and Looſneſs he was ſo addicted by Nature, that he never left them in his Old Age. He was a *Sylla's Laſcivouſneſs.*

conſtant

conſtant Admirer of *Macrobius* the Player from his Youth: He was very much in Love with *Nicopolis*, a Common but Wealthy, Whore, who dying left him her Heir, as did his Mother-in-law, who lov'd him as her own Son, both which pretty well advanc'd his Low Fortunes.

Being choſen *Quæſtor* to *Marius* in his firſt Conſulſhip, he went with him to the Wars of *Jugurtha*, where beſides his fair Conduct to all, he prudently fell in with *Bocchus*, King of *Numidia*, by his Civility to his Ambaſſadors, which was the Reaſon that when the King's Son-in-law *Jugurtha* fled before *Marius*, *Bocchus* deſir'd him to diſpatch *Sylla* to him with a Party, into whoſe Hands after a long Debate in his Mind he deliver'd *Jugurtha*: For this, tho' *Marius* Triumph'd, yet not without Pain and Envy at the Applauſe *Sylla* had obtain'd by it, which was heighten'd by the Vain-glory of *Sylla* himſelf, in having this Surrender grav'd on a Signet, which he always after made uſe of. But tho' this touch'd *Marius* very ſenſibly, yet deſpiſing him for a Rival in Power, he took him for his Lieutenant-General in his ſecond Conſulſhip, in which Poſt he took *Copillus*, Chief of the *Tectoſages*, and being Tribune of the Soldiers in his third Conſulſhip, he oblig'd the populous and hardy Nation of the *Marſians* to become Allies to the *Romans*. Theſe Actions gave *Marius* a Jealouſie of *Sylla*, which made him apply himſelf to *Catulus*, the other Conſul, a Man of Bravery, tho' not ſo active in War, who favouring *Sylla*, and entruſting him with the greateſt Commands, he at once arriv'd at Glory and Power, for he ſubdu'd all the *Alpine Barbarians*, and compaſs'd ſuch a Plenty of Proviſions for the Army, almoſt famiſh'd, that he ſpar'd part to that of *Marius*. This ſtruck *Marius* to the Heart, and his Envy encreaſing, gave Riſe to the Civil War, which ended in Confuſion and Tyranny.

*His Vain-glorious Signet.*

*The Emulation of* Marius *and* Sylla.

*The firſt Riſe of the Civil War.*

The Succeſs *Sylla* had met with in the Army made him put in for a Share of the Civil Adminiſtration, but being repuls'd the firſt Time, was the next Year choſen Prætor, and ſent to *Cappadocia* to reſtore *Ariobarzanes* to his Kingdom, which he did with a ſmall Army of Confederates by the Expulſion of *Gordias*; and here his Authority was ſo great, that *Arſaces*, King of *Parthia*, ſent *Oribazus* to demand the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *Roman* People.

Tho' *Cenſorinus* on his return from this Expedition accus'd him of extorting Money from the Country, yet he let the Proſecution drop; and *Bocchus*, to qualifie the People, and ingratiate himſelf with *Sylla*, ſet up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* the Images of *Victory* and

*Jugurtha*,

*Jugurtha*, deliver'd by him to *Sylla* in Gold; which when *Marius* attempted to pull down, and the Friends of *Sylla* reſiſted, a greater Sedition aroſe than ever *Rome* till then had known; and had not the Confederate War broke out, the Civil War had not been deferr'd. In this War *Marius* had no Luck, but *Sylla* did Wonders, and got the Name of a Great Commander among the Citizens; but among his Friends of the Greateſt; and of a Darling of Fortune among his Enemies. He eaſily allowed to Fortune his Succeſſes, in other Things he was of a very irregular Temper, and inconſiſtent with himſelf, prone to Rapine and Prodigality, unaccountable in promoting or diſgracing Men, cringing to thoſe he ſtood in need of; and inſolent to thoſe who ſtood in need of him; ſo that it is difficult to decide which prevail'd in his Nature, Diſdain or Flattery.

The Confederate War being over, and he returning to *Rome*, was choſen Conſul with *Quintus Pompeius*, being Fifty Years Old, and then married *Cælia*, whom repudiating for Barrenneſs, he took *Metella* to Wife, of whom he prov'd more fond of than any of his former Wives, whether *Ilia*, *Ælia*, or *Cælia*. But he thinking the Conſulſhip of little Value in Compariſon of what he aim'd at, preſs'd to Command in the *Mithridatic* War, in which being oppos'd by *Marius*, tho' Old and Broken, and unfit for Action: Who while *Sylla* was gone to the Army, ſtirr'd up that moſt pernicious Sedition, which was the Cauſe of ſo great and numerous Slaughters. To this Purpoſe *Marius* joining *Sulpitius*, then Tribune of the People, and a Fellow of the moſt abandon'd and cruel Temper in the World, ſet afoot many Things againſt *Sylla*. *Sulpitius* was always attended and guarded by a numerous Train of Young Profligate Gentlemen, and beſides many abandon'd Outrages, paſs'd many dangerous Laws, one of which was to prefer *Marius* to *Sylla* in the *Mithridatic* War: And when the Senate was aſſembled in the Temple *Caſtor*, he broke in upon them with the Rabble, and murder'd a great many: Among whom Young *Pompey*, the Conſul's Son, *Sylla* himſelf eſcaping to the Houſe of *Marius*, and tho' continu'd in his Conſulſhip by *Sulpitius* when he had deſpis'd *Pompey*, was yet deny'd the Command in the *Mithridatic* War, which he ſtill decreed to *Marius*.

*The Seditious Tribune* Sulpitius.

He diſpatched Tribunes to *Nola* to bring up the Army to *Marius*; but *Sylla* being got to it before them, and repreſented the Matter, they receiv'd the Tribunes with Srones, not Applauſe; and *Marius* on the other Hand put the Friends of *Sylla* to the Sword in *Rome*, rifling and plundering them at Diſcretion. This News brought *Sylla* with

*Sylla's Victory.*

with the Army to the City, and breaking in with great Fury, deſtroy'd all with Fire and Sword. *Marius* apprehenſive of the Power of *Sylla*, had ſet the Slaves at Liberty, but being notwithſtanding vanquiſh'd, he fled the City. *Sylla* now remaining Victor, declar'd *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, and ſome few more, guilty of Death; and having long had the War againſt *Mithridates* in his Head, he tranſported his Army into *Greece*; and when many of the Cities there ſent Complements to him, except *Athens*, he having taken the *Pyræum*, laid Siege to that City, then oppreſs'd by the Tyranny of *Ariſtion*; but the Siege of *Athens* being a Matter of great Importance, as well as Difficulty, and he wanting Money, ſent *Caphis* to fetch the Gifts from the Temples of *Greece:* Who being at *Delphis*, and afraid Sacrilegiouſly to touch the Conſecrated Offerings of the God, ſent Word to *Sylla* that he had heard in the Holy Temple the Sounds of the Lyre, and that terrify'd by that, he durſt not proceed any farther in the Matter; *Sylla* ſends him an Anſwer that he ſhou'd diſmiſs his Fears, and proceed with more Security, ſince the Notes of the Lyre, which he heard were a Proof that the God rejoiced to contribute his Riches to the Publick Service. All that was delivered on this Occaſion was unknown to the *Greeks*, except a Silver Tun, which was of that Bigneſs that the Carriages would not bear it, ſo that the *Ampilictiones* were forc'd to ſee it cut to Pieces.

*Athens* was now reduc'd to ſuch an extream Famine, that a Buſhel of Wheat was Sold for a Thouſand *Drachmas*, and the Men forc'd to eat Shoes and Oil-bags boil'd. At laſt, after a long Famine, *Sylla* being informed of the weakeſt Place, neglects not the Occaſion, but tumbling down rhe Wall betwixt the *Pyræum* and the *Sacred Gate*, enters the Town with Noiſe and Terror, and let looſe the Soldiers to Rapine and Slaughter, which every Day were ſo great, that the Blood flow'd down from the Market-place through the Streets to the very Suburbs; and after an infinite Number ſlain, was with much ado perſuaded to ſtop the Execution.

*Athens taken.*

In the mean while *Taxilles*, the General of the *Mithridatic* Army, comes down from *Throace* and *Macedon*, with 100000 Foot, and 10000 Horſe, and 90 Chariots with Scythes, to join *Archelaus*, who with a Fleet lay hovering about *Munichia*, without deſign to fight, but by protracting the War to diſtreſs *Sylla* for want of Proviſions. But he foreſeeing this, led his Army out of the Barren Country of *Attica* into *Beotia*, in Pain for *Hortenſius*, who was bringing ſome Troops to *Sylla*, and whom the *Barbarians* expected

expected at *Thermopylæ*. But *Caphis* led *Hortensius* another way, and by difficult passages getting into *Patronis* join'd *Sylla*, who came to meet him. Being thus routed, they posted themselves on a fertile Hill call'd *Philobeotus*, on the Plains of *Elateia*, set round with Trees, and Waters at the Feet. They were not above 1500 Horse, and less than 15000 Foot, a number so contemptible, that the other Commanders over-persuaded *Archelaus*, and drawing up their Army, advanc'd with horrible Shouts, which being so great, struck such a Terror into the *Romans*, that *Sylla* could not remove it, but suffer'd them to remain in their Entrenchments. But unable to remove their Fear, he set the Army to hard Labour to turn the Course of the River *Cephisus*, and going just to run, he brought them to desire rather to fight as Men, than labour thus like Slaves; he told them, if they spoke like Soldiers, and out of a desire of Action, they should possess themselves of that steep and craggy Height before them; but *Sylla* finding the Enemy marching on the same design, by the Bravery and Dilligence of his Men having repuls'd *Archelaus*, took possession of the Hill. Soon after passing the River *Assius* near the Mountain *Edulium*, he encamp'd close to *Archelaus*; where after one days respite, leaving *Muræna* with one Legion and two Cohorts to amuse the Enemy, he march'd on toward Mount *Thurion*, possess'd by the Enemy. Having receiv'd his Men at *Chæronea*, and a proposal of getting by a secret way above the *Barbarians* on that Hill, those Forces being mounted with Arms and Stones, fell on the subjacent Enemy, who being so terrify'd, fled and tumbl'd down Precipices; some falling into the Wings of the *Romans*, were cut off, others into their own Ranks, put them in Disorder and Confusion: and the whole Bodies of both Armies joining Battel after a great struggle, the *Barbarians* were so beaten, as not to have ten thousand of that vast number survive that Fight, tho' the *Romans* lost not above twelve Men. And in the Place where *Archelaus* first gave Ground, *Sylla* erected a Trophy, on which he inscrib'd *Mars*, *Victory*, *Venus*, acknowledging the day ev'n not less by Good-Fortune than by Valour and Conduct.

Sylla's *Design*.

Sylla's *Victory over the* Barbarians.

*Sylla* after this, hearing that *Flaccus*, of the contrary Faction, was made Consul, and come into *Greece* to act in show against *Mithridates*, but in Reality against him, he directed his march to meet him through *Thessaly*, but at *Meleteia* having Advice that *Dorilaus* was arriv'd at *Chalcis* with a vast Fleet, and 80000 Men of the choice of *Mithridates* Forces, that he had made already Inroads into *Bœotia*, and desir'd nothing more than to fight *Sylla*, he turn'd about to meet him.

*Archelaus* did what he could to diſſuade *Dorilaus* from the Battel, by ſhewing him that the way to deal with the *Romans* was by delays to wear them out in Expences. *Sylla* returning with his Army, encampt not far from the *Barbarians*, and while he orders his Entrenchments to be made and fortify'd, the *Barbarians* impatient of delay, fell upon thoſe at Work, and diſpers'd them and their Guard; but *Sylla* taking an Enſign in his Hand, makes through thoſe that were flying, and cry'd out, *I think it Glorious to dye here, but do you remember you betray'd your General at* Orchomenus? Which words, and the coming in of ſome freſh Cohorts, turn'd the Fortune of the Day; and preſſing on, the Enemy were put to flight; and the next Day renewing the Fight, *Sylla* took their Camp, and they fled with ſuch Precipitation and Fear, that the Fields, Marſhes and Lakes run with Blood, and were fill'd with dead Bodies. Hence it is that now in our days (200 years after this Battel) we frequently find pieces of Bows, Helmets, Swords of *Barbarian* Make, in the Mudd.

In the midſt of theſe Tranſactions, News is brought from *Rome*, that the contrary Faction carry'd things in a profligate and rude manner, and *Sylla* was therefore deſir'd to bring Relief to his Country and his Friends; and his Wife and his Son flying to him, inform'd him, That his Houſe was plunder'd, his Goods taken away, and that all things were ſinking into immediate Ruin. *Sylla* was in great ſuſpence what to do, he could not bear the Ruin of his Country on one hand, nor to leave the War unfiniſh'd on the other; he therefore comes to an Agreement with *Mithridates*, that he ſhould renounce *Aſia* and *Paphlagonia*, ſurrender *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, ſhould pay two thouſand Talents to the People of *Rome*, and equip them out ſeventy Great Men of War. Theſe Heads being agreed on, *Sylla* embraces *Mithridates*, and reconciles to him *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes*; and having receiv'd the ſeventy Ships, and adding many more to them, with 200 Veſſels paſſes from *Dyrachium* to *Italy*, landing near *Tarentum*; whence entring *Campania*, he overthrew *Marius* the younger, and *Narbanus* the Conſuls; ſoon after, once more engaging with young *Marius*, he kill'd 20000, took 10000 Priſoners, and purſu'd him ev'n to *Præneſte*.

*Agreement with* Mithridates.

*Sylla* after many and hazardous Encounters enters at laſt the City victoriouſly, where he murder'd ſo many thouſand, proſcrib'd and plunder'd ſo many, and ſhed ſo much Blood, that the very Relation would move Compaſſion in a Stranger that heard it; for he ſpar'd neither Relation, Sex, nor Age, he excepted not the Temples nor the Houſhold-Gods, nor

**Sylla's Cruelty.**

nor his own paternal Houſe from Murther and Deſtruction: The ſame Deſtruction reach'd the *Italian* Cities. He order'd 12000 of thoſe of *Præneſte* to be butcher'd all-together: Of which Town ſparing only one Man, who was his Hoſt, he diſdaining the Favour, preſs'd into the number, ſaying, *he would expire with his Country.*

*Sylla* having committed all theſe Exorbitances, declar'd himſelf perpetual Dictator; and deſiring to make *Pompey* his Relation, he oblig'd him to repudiate his Wife, and taking *Æmilia* the Daughter of *Scaurus* by *Metella* from *Glabrio*, gave her to *Pompey* in Marriage. He himſelf made a Magnificent Triumph over *Mithridates*, and aſſum'd the Name of Father and Preſerver of his Country, and decreed, That that Year ſhould be call'd *Happy.*

*Aſſumes the Style of* Pater Patriæ, *&c.*

After all theſe Cruelties, Barbarities, and Uſurpations, truſting to his Good-Fortune and uſual Felicity, he of his own accord laid down his Office, and ventur'd daily into the *Forum* as a private Man. He often gave the People ſuch Feaſts that much of the Proviſion was thrown into the River. Sitting in a promiſcuous manner at the Exhibition of the *Gladiators*, he happen'd to ſit by *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Maſſala*, with whoſe Husband he had had ſome Quarrel, finding her very handſom, ogled her with all the wantonneſs of Youth; which ſhe receiving, *Metella* being dead, he marry'd her, but notwithſtanding that, he kept Company with Actors, Actreſſes, and Minſtrels, drinking with them Day and Night. By this diſorderly Life, his Bowels corrupted and turn'd to Lice; which Diſtemper growing on him, weary of this Life, he dy'd at *Puteoli.* And when many with *Lepidus* went to deprive the Corps of Funeral Rights, *Pompey* by his Intereſt and Power brought it to *Rome*, and gave it an Honourable Funeral Pile. His Monument was in *Campus Martius*, and his Epitaph wrote by himſelf was to this purpoſe, *That neither Friend nor Foe had excell'd him in doing Good or repelling Injuries.*

# THE COMPARISON OF *Lyſander* and *Sylla*.

HAving taken a ſufficient view of both theſe Lives, let us now compare their Actions. They both rais'd themſelves, but with this difference; *Lyſander* with the conſent of the People, and in the vigour of the State; *Sylla* in a ſickly Commonwealth, by Force and Faction. The former was commiſſion'd in ſeveral great Commands, ſhone out the beſt among the beſt, and firſt among the formoſt, voluntarily often quitting the Magiſtracy, and often being ſu'd to, accepted the ſame. The later being once choſen Conſul, never quitted the Army in ten years, but now aſſuming the *Conſul*, now the *Proconſul*, and laſtly, by the *Dictator*, acted the Tyrant. *Lyſander*, indeed, endeavour'd to alter the Conſtitution of *Sparta*, but it was by Perſuaſion, not Force; nor ever did he make ſuch a univerſal Deſtruction as *Sylla* did in *Rome*. *Lyſander* it is true, for the Behalf of his Friends, committed ſeveral Offences and Slaughters; but *Sylla* through Envy depriv'd *Pompey* of the Army, and *Dolabella* would have diſcharg'd from the Fleet, to which he himſelf had prefer'd him; he commanded *Lucretius Offella* to be murder'd before him for offering to ſeek the Conſulſhip without his Permiſſion. *Lyſander* in all his Power was continent, and temperate; *Sylla* could not be reſtrain'd in Youth by Poverty, nor in his Old-age by his years from Exceſs of Voluptuouſneſs, and while he indulg'd his Licentious Amours, he made Laws of Continence and Matrimony, he exhauſted the Treaſure of the City, and ſold Liberty and the Laws; and whilſt he debauch'd with his lewd Companions in Wine and Women he ſet the Houſes and Eſtates of the Citizens to Sale by Auction. *Lyſander* kept himſelf pure from thoſe very Vices with which he had kill'd *Sparta*, but *Sylla* was the moſt abandon'd

don'd of *Rome*. But in Military Affairs, *Lyſander* cannot be compar'd to *Sylla*; for he only obtain'd two Victories in two Sea-fights, and the Siege and taking of *Athens*, but loſt his Life fooliſhly at *Haliartus*, a thing of more Fame than Difficulty. And the beating of *Antiochus*, the Pilot of *Alcibiades*, and the circumventing *Philocles* the *Athenian* Orator, Men more eminent in the War of the Tongue than Hand; both not to be compar'd to the Maſter of the Horſe of *Mithridates*, or the *Lictor* of *Marius*. But if we ſurvey the Actions of *Sylla*, the Princes, Conſul, and Leaders of the contrary Faction which he vanquiſh'd, who was more terrible than *Marius*? and what King more powerful than *Mithridates*? who more warlike among the *Italians* than *Lamponius* and *Teleſinus*? Yet all theſe did *Sylla* overcome. *Lyſander* had always the Aſſiſtance of the State in whatever he undertook: But *Sylla* abſent from *Rome*, his Friends murder'd by the contrary Faction, his Wife driven from Home, his Houſe rifled and deſtroy'd; yet making War in *Bœotia*, erected Trophies, preferring the public Good of his Country to his private Quarrels and Enmities. Nor would he call *Mithridates* King, give him his Hand, ev'n while his Affairs call'd loud for his Preſence in *Italy*, till he had quitted *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia* to *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes*. And having taken *Athens*, which had ſided with *Mithridates* againſt him, he gave them their Liberty; but when *Lyſander* took it, he deſtroy'd their Liberty, and ſubjected them to thirty Tyrants. *Sylla* therefore did more and braver Actions; and tho' *Lyſander* muſt be allow'd the more Continent and Temperate, yet *Sylla* was far more Excellent in Arms.

# The LIFE of CIMON.

*Cimon* was the Son of *Miltiades* and *Hegesipyle*, Daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*. His Father was fin'd fifty Talents and dy'd in Priſon for it; who being dead, *Cimon* was in his Younger days a drunken riotous Companion, but yet was always a Lover of Truth, and had a plain openneſs of Humour: He lay under the Imputation of having been a little too familiar with his own Siſter *Elpinice*, whoſe Reputation was not extreamly clear in that Point, *Polynotus* the Painter was known to be her Gallant. And *Cimon* was very amorouſly inclin'd, and, among his Miſtreſſes, was very fond of *Mneſtra* and *Ariſteria* of *Salamis*. But notwithſtanding thoſe Failures, his Qualities were ſo conſpicuous and eminent, that he yielded not to *Miltiades* in Boldneſs, nor to *Themiſtocles* in Prudence, and excell'd them both in Juſtice; nor therefore was he inferiour to either in Military Virtue; as he was equal to them in War, ſo he ſurpaſs'd them and every one elſe in Civil Policy, ev'n before his years were improv'd by Experience. His Perſon was agreeable, his Stature middle-ſiz'd, and his Hair ſhock and curl'd. When the *Perſians* were falling into *Greece* like an Inundation, *Themiſtocles* adviſ'd the *Athenians* to forſake the City, and go with their Army on Ship-board, and in the Streights of *Salamis* diſpute the Dominion of the Sea with the Enemy; whilſt others were amaz'd at the Counſels, he conſecrating a Bridle to *Minerva*, and taking down the Bucklers hung on the Temple-Wall, march'd down to the Port; which Actions gave Courage to many others to follow his Example. He performing brave Actions in the Battel of *Salamis*, rais'd to himſelf not only much Praiſe, but a great deal of Love and Reſpect; ſo that he excell'd all thoſe who in numbers join'd themſelves to him in greatneſs of Mind and Judgment: By which means when he apply'd himſelf to the obtaining public Dignities and Offices, he found himſelf very favourably receiv'd by the People. And when by his eaſie Addreſs, regularity of his Manners,

*His Miſtreſſes.*

Manners, and his familiar way of Living, he was grown dear to all Men, he was found to be no contemptible means of checking the Boldneſs and Pride of thoſe in Power. For this Reaſon they choſe him Admiral of their Fleet; for at that time the *Athenians* were not yet the Head of *Greece*, but that Power was in *Pauſanias* and the *Lacædemonians*. *Cimon* being therefore choſen Admiral and General of *Athens*, he not only brought his Citizens to Diſcipilin by frequent Exerciſe, with admirable Application and Diligence, ſo that e'ry Man ſeem'd of the firſt Rank, but he alſo practic'd a very great and agreeable Civility and Liberality to the Allies of his Country; and this was the Reaſon that moſt of the Confederates fell off from *Pauſanias*, and united with *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*. By this means in a little time he got the *Athenians* the Principality of *Greece*, not by Arms and Force, but by Affability and Liberality. *Pauſanias* was about this time at *Byzantium*, and among many deteſtable Things which he acted there, his Cruelty and Brutality to a young Lady of Quality, whom he would have debauch'd, and whom by miſtake he kill'd as ſhe in the dark approach'd his Bed, thinking her ſome Aſſaſſin, put an end to the *Spartan* Power there; for the People enrag'd by this, and exhorted by *Cimon*, drove them out of the City; who being expelled thence, many of the Confederates came over to *Cimon*. *Eione*, a City on the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was in the Poſſeſſion then of ſome of the Relations of the King of *Perſia*, and by Inroads much infeſted the *Greeks*. On which, *Cimon* ſailing into thoſe Parts with the Confederates, having beat them in Battel, ſoon makes them flie into their City, where beſieging them, he quickly reduc'd them to ſuch Streights and Want, that ſetting the City on Fire, they in deſpair threw themſelves and their Goods into the Fire, and were burnt. *Cimon* thus becoming Maſter of the City, he made it a Colony of the *Athenians*: For which Actions they permitted him to erect three Mercuries of Stone, on which were inſcrib'd ſeveral Verſes. For *Cimon* was then above former Commanders, reſpected by all, they having only acted on the Defenſive, he invaded the Foe in their own Holds.

*Takes* Byzantium.

*Takes* Eione *in* Thrace.

When *Cimon* understood that the Bones of *Theseus* were in the Island of *Scyros*, where he was kill'd by King *Lycomedes* four hundred years before, he brought them away to *Athens* in the Admiral's Galley adorn'd in a most magnificent manner, having expell'd the *Dolopian* Pirates and open'd the Ægean Sea, by them before infested. The bringing home the Bones of *Theseus*, was a thing so grateful to the *Athenians*, that by it he wholly possest their Hearts and Inclinations. They made him one more of his Commanders Judges of the Prize betwixt the Tragic Poets *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*, who being on Oath gave it to the later, tho' a young-man, and his first Play; which so disgusted *Æschylus*, that leaving *Athens*, he dy'd in discontent in *Sicily*.

*Brings home the Bones of* Theseus, *having taken* Scyros.

At a Feast in *Athens*, on Request, he sung them a Song to their Satisfaction, and gave them this Account of his division of the Booty got at *Sestos* and *Byzantium* betwixt the Allies and *Athenians*, in one Lot placing all the Ornaments, Cloaths, and Jewels of the Captives, in the other their naked Persons; and when the Allies seem'd dissatisfy'd with the division, he gave them their choice, and so had all the Riches. But the Prudence of *Cimon* was soon after seen, when from *Lydia* and *Phrygia* the Relations of the Prisoners came and redeemed them at so vast a Price, that with the Money he maintain'd the Fleet four Months, and return'd great Sums to the Treasury. What Riches he gain'd to his own share from the *Barbarians*, he spent with great Bounty and Hospitality on his own Citizens. Besides this, he pull'd down all the Fences of his Gardens and Grounds, that all Travellers, especially the *Athenians*, should gather what they pleas'd without check or danger. His Table was the daily support of the Poor; and when he went out (being always attended with many young Gentlemen well dress'd) he stript one of his Retinue when he met any ancient Citizen in decay, and made him cloath him; these young-men were order'd to carry Sums of Mony about them, and privately to convey some into the Hands of any whom they knew or seem'd to want it. Hence *Gorgias* the *Leontine* says of him, *That he got Riches to Use them, and his Use of them was with Honour, to get himself Love and Credit by it.* So that *Cina*, one of the thirty Tyrants, wish'd the Riches of the Hens of *Scipias*, and the Liberality of *Cimon*. He was almost the only *Athenian* except *Aristides* and *Ephialtes*, who took no Presents; for when *Reseaces* a *Persian* had revolted from the King and fled to *Athens* to avoid the Persecution of the People, apply'd himself to *Cimon*, offering him a Cupfull

Cupfull of Gold *Darius*'s, and a Cupfull of Silver, which *Cimon* refuſing, ask'd him with a ſmile, Whether he would have him his Mercenary or his Friend? when he had anſwer'd, his Friend, *Take then away* (ſaid he) *thoſe Pieces, for if I'm your Friend, I may have them when I want them.* He was beſides an utter Abhorrer, of the Expilations of the Public.

The Allies being weary of the War, he accepted of their Money and empty Ships, and carry'd his *Athenians* in their room, thus effemnating the former, and making Soldiers of the later. Of all the *Greek* Commanders, he moſt diſtreſs'd the *Barbarians*, ſo that from *Ionia* to *Pamphylia* the *Perſian* had not one Soldier.

He compell'd thoſe of *Phaſelis* to pay a Fine, and join againſt the *Perſian*, and at the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon* deſtroy'd the *Perſian* Fleet, taking 200 Sail, purſu'd them to Shore, and beat them, taking their Camp and a vaſt Spoil; then took and deſtroy'd the Phænician Auxiliaries, and oblig'd the great King to quit all the Seas and never come within 400 Furlongs of the *Grecian* Sea. The Spoils got, beſides other Expences, built the South-Wall of the Citadel, and laid the Foundation of the Walls call'd *Skele* or *Long-ſhanks*, to join the City to the Port, ſinking great Stones to make the Foundation firm in the Moraſs where they were forc'd to place it. He adorn'd the City with *Gymnaſia*, ſet the Market-place with Palm-Trees, fenc'd the Academy with Eves from the Weather, beautify'd it with Fountains and cover'd Alleys, and ſet out Ground for Foot and Horſe-Races.

*His two great Victories in one day.*

About this time News coming, that ſome *Perſians* had poſſeſs'd the *Cherſoneſe*, and calling in the People of upper *Thrace* to their Aſſiſtance, refus'd to quit it to *Cimon*, which from the ſmallneſs of his Forces they contemn'd. But he with no more than four Veſſels took thirteen of the Enemy; then driving out the *Perſians*, and reducing the *Thracians*, he made the whole *Cherſoneſe* ſubject to *Athens*. Thence going againſt the People of *Thaſes*, revolted from the *Athenians*, and put them to flight, took 33 of their Ships, took the Town by Siege, and reduc'd the whole Country with their Gold Mines into ſubjection to the *Athenians*; from whence he might make an eaſie deſcent into *Macedon*; which he never attempted. This gave his Enemies an opportunity of accuſing him of being brib'd by *Alexander* King of *Macedon*. But having acquitted himſelf of this Accuſation, he fell into a conteſt with the People, who would encroach on the Nobility, and claim'd the Supream Power over them, and

*Takes the Cherſoneſe.*

*And the Gold Mines of Thaſes.*

and by the Inſtigation of *Ephialtes* and *Pericles*, withdrew the cognizance of almoſt all Cauſes from the *Areopagus*; theſe diſorders *Cimon* endeavour'd to regulate, and to ſet things on their old bottom. This ſet the Demagogues of the People upon him, receiving old Stories of his Familiarity with his Siſter, and that he was a Partiſan of *Sparta*: 'Tis true, he was a great Favourer of the *Lacedæmonians*, and declar'd himſelf ſo, which diſguſted many; yet when there happen'd a great Earthquake at *Lacedæmon*, in which almoſt the whole Town was overwhelm'd, in the fourth year of the Reign of *Archidamus*, to the Satisfaction of the *Helotes* and *Meſſenians*, reſolv'd to oppreſs the Remains of *Sparta*, ſo made War upon them jointly. The *Spartans* being embaraſs'd with other Affairs likewiſe, ſend to deſire Help of the *Athenians*, which *Cimon* with much ado obtain'd from, and led to them. But on his ſecond march to their Aſſiſtance, the *Spartans* diſmiſſing them for want of Confidence in their Courage, provok'd the *Athenians*, who venting their Anger on all the Favourers of *Lacedæmon*, baniſh'd *Cimon* by Oſtraciſm for ten years.

*Baniſh'd by* Oſtraciſm.

Some time after the *Lacedæmonians* deſigning to free *Delphos* from the *Phoceans*, came with their Army to *Tanagra*; to which place the *Athenians* march'd to fight them; hither *Cimon* came, tho' in Exile, and join'd his own Tribe to fight in vindication of his Country; but the Leaders of the adverſe Faction cry'd out, That he was come to diſturb their Ranks, and betray them to the Enemy, and commanded the Officers not to receive him; but one hundred of his Companions being ſlain, bravely fighting for their Country, and the *Athenians* worſted, and an Army of *Spartans* expected into *Attica*, the People recall'd *Cimon* from Exile. On his Return he reconcil'd the two Cities, and made a Peace.

*Cimon* conſidering that the *Athenian* Youth could not be idle and eaſie in Peace, but always, when out of War, meditating ſome Innovations, to hinder them from breeding diſturbances in the City, he thought by receiving them to War and Labour, to make them the more fierce and skilful Soldiers. For this End, and to uſe them to War againſt the *Barbarians*, and not *Greeks*, he prepares a Fleet of 200 Sail to go againſt *Cyprus* and *Ægypt*; and tho' ſome ominous Dreams and the imperfection of the Entrails in the Sacrifice, forbad his Voyage, yet impatient of delay, he ſet immediate Sail. When ſending before him 60 Sail to *Ægypt*, he with the reſt, knowing the Seas, put the Royal Navy to flight, and reducing all the circumjacent Towns, now carry'd the whole Bent and Force of the War againſt *Ægypt*. But

when

when he had form'd the design of destroying the whole *Persian* Monarchy, he sent some of his Friends to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, to consult the Oracle, who coming thither, on their Enquiry were answer'd by the Oracle, *That they should enquire no further, for that* Cimon *was with him already.* By which, on their return, they found that *Cimon* was dead, and so with the Gods; for at the Siege of *Citium* in *Cyprus* he dy'd of Sickness, or as some say, of a Wound he receiv'd there. As he was dying, he advis'd his Countrymen to conceal his Death till they were got to *Athens*, whither he advis'd them immediately to set Sail: And thus the Allies and Enemies being ignorant of it, *Cimon* conducted the Fleet safe to *Athens* forty days after his Death. His Death put an End to the Glory of *Greece*, what distracted by Parties, and Civil Wars among themselves, lost first their Glory, then their Power. His Remains being brought into *Attica*, were put into that famous Monument which to this day is call'd the *Cimonia*; and the People of *Citium* Worship a Monument which they call by his Name, being in a Famine, commands to Worship *Cimon* as a God.

Hammon's *Reply.*

The

# The LIFE of *LUCULLUS.*

THE Father of *Lucullus* had been convicted of Extortion, and his Mother's Reputation was but very indifferent, but his Grandfather had been Conſul, and his Uncle was *Metellus Numidicus.* The Action of his Youth that was taken Notice of, was his accuſing the Accuſer of his Father, *Servilius* the *Augur*; which was eſteem'd an Action of Spirit, and deſerving Eſteem, and the Event made *Servilius* flie the City. *Lucullus* apply'd himſelf to the Study of *Latin* as well as *Greek* Literature, being a Maſter of both; for which Reaſon *Sylla* Dedicated to him the Memoirs of his Life. He was in public and private Cauſes Correct and Elegant. In his Youth he wrote the Hiſtory of the *Marſican* War in *Greek*, the Lot falling to him, not to *Hortenſius* and *Siſenna.*

*His Father and Mother.*

*His love to his Brother.*

He lov'd his Brother *Marcus* ſo entirely, that he could not put up for any Office till he (who was the Younger) came to years capable of ſtanding with him; which gain'd the Love of the People ſo much, that they choſe him *Ædile* in his Abſence. In the *Marſican* War he ſoon gave Proofs of his Daring and Valour; *Sylla* ſo admir'd his Conſtancy and Mildneſs, that he ever after employ'd him in all things where Induſtry and Fidelity were requir'd. Thus he took care of Coining the Money for the *Mithridatic* War, which he perform'd with wonderful Adreſs, and it long paſs'd in the Army as the *Lucullean* Coin. He ſent him next to *Ægypt* to get him a Fleet, where the Enemies being Maſters of the Sea, cut off his Proviſions as he was beſieging *Athens.* *Lucullus* ſetting Sail, and paſſing the Enemies with three *Greek* Veſſels, and as many Gallies of *Rhodes*, he arrives at *Alexandria*, taking *Crete* in his Paſſage. He found all the Honours from young *Ptolomy* as could be expected; and to ſay nothing of the Pomp and Luxury of the Entertainments, among other Preſents, he offer'd him one worth 80

*Arrives at* Alexandria.

Ta-

Talents, which *Lucullus* refuſing, he would not go ſee the *Pyramids* of *Memphis* or any other *Ægyptian* wonder, ſaying, *It was not fit for him to accept Gifts and indulge his Curioſity while his General lay in the open Trenches.* But unable to engage the King in the Confederacy, accepting a very rich Emerauld ſet in a Gold-Ring, which he had likewiſe refus'd had not *Ptolomy* ſhow'd him his own Image upon it, he ſet Sail for *Cyprus*; and having drawn together a Fleet from the *Maritime* Towns, he receiv'd Information that he waited for him under the Promontories of that Iſland; ſo ſummoning the Cities to ſend in Proviſions, as if he intended to Winter there, in the Night he ſet Sail, and ſafely arriv'd at *Rhodes*. He drew the People of *Chios* and *Cnidia* to quit the Kings Intereſt and join with the *Romans* againſt the *Samians*; he drove the Kings Party out of *Clios* and ſet the *Colophonians* at Liberty from their Tyrant *Epigonus*, whom he ſeiz'd.

About this Time *Fimbria* had reduc'd *Mithridates* to ſuch a ſtreight in *Pitane*, that he had no way of eſcaping but by Sea; but *Fimbria* finding no other way of deirecting his Flight that way, ſent to *Lucullus* to intercept him, telling him, That he could do nothing that would bring him more Glory. *Lucullus*, tho' he agreed in the Reaſonableneſs of all that *Fimbria* urg'd, yet diſdaining to ſhare a Reputation with ſo abandon'd a Wretch, he let *Mithridates* eſcape. But coming on the King's Fleet, about *Lectos* of *Troas*, fought, and overcame it. *Neoptolemus* coming then upon him with a greater Fleet, he made up to him before the reſt in a large Ship of *Rhodes*, *Demagoras* an expert Seaman and faithful to the *Romans*, being Commander: The Engagement growing warm, and the Enemies Ships growing more numerous, *Lucullus* by his Valour and Encouragement of his Men, at laſt put them to the Rout. Having perform'd theſe Exploits in his Paſſage, he at laſt arrives at the *Cheroneſe* to *Sylla*, juſt as he was paſſing the *Streight*; to whom his Ships were of Uſe.

*Lets Mithridates eſcape.*

Peace

Peace being made, *Sylla* fines *Asia* Two thousand Talents, and left *Lucullus* to Collect the Money, and to Coin it, to the no small Relief of the Country, to fall into the Hands of a Man of Moderation and Justice. The *Mytilenians* he would punish for their Desertion, so moderately, that they might return to their Duty, but being obstinate he beat them at Sea, and took their Town and with it fifty thousand Slaves, and a great Booty.

*Takes* Mysilen.

He was not at all engag'd in the Disturbances in *Italy* betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, being in *Asia*: But he was always lov'd and respected, and made Guardian to his Son by *Sylla*, to the disgust of *Pompey*, which gave Rise to the mutual Hatred betwixt them. *Sylla* being dead, *Lucullus* was chosen Consul with *M. Cotta*; and at last by several Arts and Means got a Decree of the Province of *Cilicia*, and so of the *Mithridatic* War, to his Administration. Then *Lucullus*, who had a great Ambition of this Command, sail'd with his Forces into *Asia*, where he join'd to them the disorderly Soldiers of *Fimbria* (who had kill'd himself) corrupted by a perpetual Luxury, and a long Privilege of sinning without controul; but *Lucullus* with a severe Hand broke their Temerity and Contumacy, and brought them to Discipline.

*Chosen* Consul *with* Cotta.

*Mithridates* instructed by his former Defeats, provided now an Army more for Use than Show. He got together One hundred and twenty thousand Foot, train'd and arm'd in the *Roman* manner, sixteen thousand Horse, and one hundred Chariots, arm'd with Scyths, and a Navy full of Stores, Arms, and Money. Transporting these Forces into *Bithynia*, he was very amicably receiv'd again, both there and all *Asia*, disgusted by the Oppression of the *Roman* Publican; which Evil while *Lucullus* was busie in redressing, *Cotta* thinking to reap Glory to himself, of which his Collegue should have no share, alone engages *Mithridates*, and is beaten both by Land and Sea, losing sixty Ships, and four thousand Foot, with the rest flying to *Chalcedon*, was there shut up by the King's Forces.

Cotta *is beaten by* Mithridates.

This

This News coming to *Lucullus* contrary to his Soldiers Inclinations, and the Perſuaſions of *Archelaus*, who being revolted from *Mithridates*, told him his Kingdom was to be won without a blow, he reſolv'd on the Reſcue of *Cotta*, aſſerting, That he had rather ſave one Citizen than get all that his Enemies poſſeſs'd. He therefore march'd towards *Mithridates* with thirty thouſand Foot and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, and in ſight of the Enemy pitches his Tents; deterr'd by their Numbers from an immediate Engagement, judging it much-more prudent to deferr, than commit his Fortune to the deciſion of an uncertain Battel. That which confirm'd his Opinion, was the Confeſſion of three or four Priſoners, who all agreed, that they had not Proviſions ſufficient for three or four days; for that Reaſon he took all imaginable care to intercept the Enemy's, and ſecure as much as he could for his own Camp; ſo to deſtroy the Foe by Famine. To avoid this Fate, *Mithridates* ſteals away from *Lucullus* in a dark Night, and marches againſt the *Cyzicenians*, who had ſuffer'd much in the late Fight at *Chalcedon*: The King encampt by Sun-riſe on the *Adraſtian* Mount; *Lucullus* ſoon heard of his Motion, but durſt not fall on him with a diſorderly Army, but follows him cloſe, and ſits down in a Village call'd *Thracia*, a Place of Plenty, and through which all Proviſions and Forage muſt come to the Enemies Camp. Hence *Lucullus* finding the Promiſes of a certain Victory, promis'd his Men that he would give the Foe into their hands without a blow. And by this means he reduc'd the Army of *Mithridates* to ſuch Extremity, that they were reſolv'd to have eaten Man's Fleſh.

*He comes to the Relief of Cotta.*

When *Mithridates* came to know the Want of his Men, he ſent away almoſt all his Horſe into *Bithynia*, with the Sumpters and Baggage, and all the Foot that were unfit for Service. *Lucullus* purſuing theſe at the River *Ryndacus* overtakes, fights, and routs them with ſuch a Slaughter, that the Women of *Apollonia* came out to ſtrip the Dead: He took ſix thouſand Horſe, fifteen thouſand Foot, and many thouſands of other Horſes and Cattle, all which he led by the Camp of *Mithridates*, which ſtruck him with ſuch a Terrour, that he fled away, and ſending the reſt of his Forces by a Land-march, he went to the Sea. *Lucullus* purſuing the Land Army, kill'd Fifteen thouſand of them, and took a vaſt number alive.

*His Victory over Mithridates.*

After

After this Victory he went to *Cyzicum*, and thence ſail'd in purſuit of the King, and coming up with ſome of his Fleet near *Lemnos*, he took and ſlew their Admiral *Iſidomus*; then making after another Squadron, after a doubtful conteſt in the Harbour where they lay, by Landing ſome of his Men, routed the Enemy, made them cut their Cables and fall foul on each other, or into the Hands of the *Roman* Fleet; and here the *Mithridatians* had a great Slaughter. *Marius* the Commander ſent by *Sertorius* to the King, was taken. *Lucullus* purſu'd the King farther, but he had always the luck to eſcape falling into his Hands, tho' often near it. Purſuing his Victory, he reduc'd *Bithynia* and *Galatia*, and marching on to *Pontus*, Proviſions were ſo ſcarce, that thirty thouſand *Galatians* were fain to carry Wheat on their Backs for the ſupply of the Army; but in a little time Proviſion was ſo plenty in the Camp, that an Ox was ſold for a *Drachma*, and a Slave for four. He then ſat down before *Amiſes*, and not preſſing the beſieg'd very-much, in the beginning of the Spring left *Murena* to Command there, while he with the reſt of the Forces march'd againſt *Mithridates*. Coming up with whom at the River *Lycus*, he challeng'd the *Romans* into the Plains, where the Cavalry engaging, the *Romans* were beaten. Both Armies afterwards encamping on the Hills, and unwilling to venture a Battel, the purſuit of a Stagg from the Kings Camp to the *Romans* brought on a Skirmiſh, in which the *Romans* giving Ground, were ſuccour'd by *Lucullus*, till they drove the Enemy into their Camp.

Here *Olthanus* Governour of the *Dardarians*, under pretence of diſguſt, fled to the *Roman* Camp, and was receiv'd by *Lucullus* with Reſpect, and by his cunning Adreſs had inſinuated himſelf into a familiarity ſo great, that one day reſolving to kill him, as he had promis'd *Mithridates*, he was prevented by *Lucullus* being aſleep; for two of his Bed-chamber, who watch'd, refus'd him; and ſo, for fear of Diſcovery, return'd back to *Mithridates*.

*Somatias* after this being by *Lucullus* ſent out with ten Companies to forage, and being ſet on by *Menander*, one of the Kings Captains, ſtood his Ground, fought and deſtroy'd the Enemy. *Adrianus* being afterward ſent to procure Proviſions for the Camp, *Myro* and *Meremachus* were detach'd by *Mithridates* with a ſtrong Party to intercept him, all of which were entirely cut off by the *Romans* but two. This Slaughter, when known to the Enemy by *Adrianus*'s paſſing their Camp with all his Wagons of Corn and the reſt of the Convoy, ſtrook ſuch a Terror into them, that reſolving to remove, a Tumult enſu'd, and the King himſelf was forc'd to flye on foot, till *Ptolomy* his Eunuch gave him his Horſe, which prevented his falling into the Hands of *Lucullus*. In this Conſternation of the Foe *Lucullus* falling on them, obtain'd a mighty Victory, and gave the Camp to be plunder'd by the Soldiers. Having taken *Cabira*, and other ſtrong Holds, a vaſt Treaſure fell into his Hands, as well as the dead Bodies of the Wives and Siſter of *Mithridates*, they being on the Rout, all murder'd by *Bacchides*, on the King's Order. Then purſuing *Mithridates* to the Country of *Tigranes*, his Son-in-law, whither he fled, he took in the *Caldeans*, *Tiburenians*, and the leſſer *Armenia*. Thence returning to *Amiſus*, and finding it ſtill hold out, he made a vigorous Aſſault with his Army, and carry'd the place; which being plunder'd and almoſt burnt by the Soldiers, he rebuilt and enlarg'd, and gave to the *Athenians* that were ſettled there, each 200 *Drachma*'s, and Cloaths, and ſent them home. And finding that the Roman Uſurers had miſerably oppreſs'd the Countries with Uſury, inſomuch that they were forc'd to ſell their Sons, Daughters, Wives, and ev'n themſelves, to ſatisfy their greedy Creditors, *Lucullus* regulated theſe Exorbitancies with certain Laws, ſo that in leſs than four years time they were all at Liberty, and all their Debts paid; which as it diſoblig'd the villainous Collectors and Uſurers, who with their Riches ſupported all the Calumnies and Complaints they rais'd againſt him, ſo it gain'd him the Univerſal Love of all thoſe People who receiv'd the benefit of his juſt Adminiſtration.

*A total overthrow of Mithridates.*

*His Liberality.*

Having ſettl'd theſe Affairs, he reſolv'd to go againſt *Tigranes*, who had entertain'd *Mithridates* contrary to the Law of Arms, and refus'd to ſurrender him. Having therefore, by *Appius Claudius*, declar'd War againſt him, *Lucullus* paſſing from *Epheſus* into *Pontus*, and gathering his Forces together took *Synope*. But when he had Intelligence that *Tigranes*, with *Mithridates*, was in full march to over-run all *Aſia* with a mighty Army, leaving a ſufficient Force to manage the Pontic War, he with 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe going againſt them, arrives on the Coaſts of *Euphrates* in two days, and paſſing that River, leads his Army thro' *Armenia* to the *Tygris*.

The News of his Approach was so little welcome to *Tigranes*, that he caus'd the Head of the first Messenger of it to be struck off. And when *Mitrobarzanes* his Favourite told him again of his coming nearer, all the thanks he had, was to be sent out against him with 3000 Horse, and a proportionable number of Foot, with this insolent Order, to destroy the *Roman* Army, and bring *Lucullus* home to him. But *Mitrobarzanes* coming upon the *Romans*, yet pitching their Tents, *Sextilius* was sent out with 1600 Horse, and as many heavy and light-arm'd Men, to keep 'em in play till the Camp was fix'd, but could not help fighting, the *Barbarians* falling on him with great Fury; but the *Romans* kill'd *Mitrobarzanes* and all the rest of his Party, but those who sav'd themselves by Flight. The News of this Defeat made *Tigranes* quit *Tigranocerta* (built by himself) and retire to *Taurus*, drawing all his Army close about him. But *Lucullus* took care to intercept them in their March, sending first *Muræna* to fall on the Camp of *Tigranes*, and then *Sextilius*, to trick those that were marching to *Tigranes* by Ambuscades, himself falls in upon the *Arabians* as they were encamping, and with one Onset put them all to Flight. *Muræna* pursued the Runaways, and cut them all to pieces, when they came to a craggy and narrow Valley which they were to pass; *Tigranes* throwing away all Incumbrances, fled with the foremost. He with the rest receiving this disgrace, *Lucullus* march'd and laid Siege to *Tigranocerta*, supposing that the King, ev'n against his own Judgment, would be thus drawn to a Battel rather than lose so considerable a City. Nor was he deceiv'd, for he came and sate down above *Tigranocerta* with 20000 Archers and Slingers; 55000 Horse (of which 15000 were in Armour) and 150000 Foot, and heavy-arm'd, besides 30000 Pioneers, Armourers, and the like. *Lucullus* leaving a sufficient number to guard the Trenches, marches against this vast Army with 24 Bands, making about 10000 Foot, all the Horse, and about 1000 Slingers and Archers, and encamps on a large plain, and having yielded Laughter to the Foe by the fewness of his number, the next day passes the River, and attaques the *Barbarians*. The King being in the main Body, the Left-Wing was given to the *Adiabenian*, and the Right to the *Mede*, he sent the *Thracian* and *Gallogrecian* Horse to fall on their Flank, and he with two Bands made the Mountains, possess'd by the Enemy's Armed-Horse, commanding his Men to strike only at their Thighs and Shins, which were not cover'd with Armour, and so they fell on; but there was no great need of many Exhortations, for they stood not to receive the *Romans*, but with great Clamour and precipitate Flight, run with their heavy-arm'd-Horse on their own Foot, yielding the Victory without

*Mitrobarzanes and his Army destroy'd.*

out giving or receiving a Wound. But *Tigranes* finding the Confuſion of his Army, ſoon fled from the Field, and then a mighty Slaughter enſu'd, all places were full of Blood and Dead Bodies. Among the Spoils, the Crown of *Tigranes* was brought to *Lucullus*, which had by the King been given to his Son, and by him to one of his moſt truſty Servants, who was taken with it: 100000 Foot were ſlain, and almoſt all the Horſe, and many Priſoners being taken, they plunder the Camp. Of the *Romans* five only were kill'd, and one hundred wounded. *Tigranes* being thus put to Flight, returning to *Tigranocerta*, it was deliver'd up to him by the *Greeks*, whom he rewarded and ſent home; the Town he gave to his Soldiers Plunder, and diſmiſs'd all the *Barbarians* to his own Country, who had only ſtaid there by Force. And celebrating Gaming and Plays in the Memory of his Victories, he won many of the Kings and People to the *Roman* ſide, the King of *Parthia* ſending to him for that End, but being found treacherous, and dealing at the ſame time with *Tigranes* for *Meſopotamia*, *Lucullus* reſolv'd to invade his Country; but the whole Army mutinying, he was forc'd to give over the Deſign; but was oblig'd only to repulſe the *Armenians* that came againſt him. He after march'd to the Capital of that Country, call'd *Artaxata*, but in the way *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* engages him, but were entirely routed, *Mithridates* immediately flying away, unable to hear the Shouts of the *Roman* Army; the purſuit was long and bloody, and tho' fewer deſtroy'd and taken, yet of greater Quality than thoſe in the firſt Battel.

Tigranes *beaten.*

Tigranocerta *taken.*

But his Soldiers grew e'ry day more mutinous, eſpecially the *Fimbrians* cajol'd by *Clodius*, Brother-in-law to *Lucullus*, who was diſguſted that he was not by him prefer'd in command to his Betters, ſo that they would not go with him into *Pontus*, againſt *Mithridates* or *Tigranes*, again gathering Head. At the ſame time his Enemies at *Rome* began to Clamour againſt him, that *Lucullus* purſu'd not the War with an Eye to the Good of the Commonwealth, but to his Avarice, and immoderate Luſt of Command. That tho' he had vanquiſh'd *Cilicia*, *Aſia*, *Bithynia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, ev'n to the River *Phaſis*, yet he could not be ſatisfy'd without plundering the Palace of *Tigranes*, as if he had his Commiſſion not ſo much to ſubdue, as deſtroy Kings. Thus, whether by the Complaints of the Soldiers, or the Detraction of thoſe that envy'd him, the Wars againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* were by Decree given to *Pompey*.

*The Army Mutiny.*

*Lucullus* being return'd to *Rome*, had the Pomp of his Triumph much leſſen'd from the uſual Grandeur, by the Envy of his Adverſaries; yet the Variety and Riches of the Trophies made a very noble Show. His Triumph being over, he Feaſt-

ed the City and neighbouring Towns in a magnificent manner. After this, he repudiated his Wife *Clodia*, a Woman of a looſe and profligate Life, admitting ev'n her own Brother to her inceſtuous Embraces; and marry'd *Servilia* the Siſter of *Cato*, who proving nothing more continent than the former, excepting Inceſt, he bore ſome time with her in Reſpect to *Cato*, but at laſt gave her likewiſe a Divorce.

*He returns to* Rome *and Triumphs.*

But while the Nobility hop'd from his Authority a defence from the Uſurpations of *Pompey*, he retir'd from Buſineſs, and left the Adminiſtration, ſatisfy'd with the Glory he had already obtain'd, and gave himſelf entirely to Pleaſure and Study. He took a great deal of Pleaſure in Magnificent Buildings, Fine Gardens, Fiſh-Ponds, Baths, and Walks, all which he made both at *Naples*, and in *Tuſculum*; ſuſpending Hills upon Arches, fixing Houſes in the Sea, and bringing that about his Gardens. The Luxury of his Table was ſo extraordinary, that when *Pompey* was once ſick, his Phyſicians preſcrib'd Thruſhes for his Food, but underſtanding none were to be got at that Seaſon, but in the Pens of *Lucullus*, *Pompey* forbid his Servants to ſeek any there, ſaying, *What! muſt* Pompey *die, were it not that* Lucullus *fed on Thruſhes?* *Pompey* and *Cicero* at another time meeting him, told him, *They would Sup with him, provided no Addition were to be made to his uſual Table*: *Lucullus* aſſur'd them of their Welcome, and only deſir'd to ſpeak one word to his Servant, to let him know when he would Sup; which allow'd, he order'd Supper to be in the *Apollo*, and ſo impos'd upon them, for every Room had its certain Expence, and that was fifty thouſand pence the Entertainment. Being ignorant of this, *Pompey* was extreamly ſurpriz'd at the ſpeed and magnificence of the Feaſt. He inſulted over Money, as Barbarian, but put it to a generous uſe. Among other things, he ſet up a noble Library, to which ev'ry one was admitted, and the Walks and Schools about it, free to all *Romans* and Strangers.

*His Library.*

Sometimes, for the ſake of his Friend, he would come into the *Forum*, and ſometimes likewiſe into the Senate, eſpecially to join with *Cato* in curbing the Ambition and Pride of *Pompey* after his Conqueſt over the Kings, hindring the diviſion of Lands among the Soldiers, propos'd by *Pompey*; which he compaſs'd by uniting with *Cæſar* and *Craſſus*; and filling the City with arm'd Men, drove away *Lucullus* and *Cato*. Affronted by this Indignity, *Lucullus* entirely quitted all Public Affairs. But by Age and a Potion being void of Reaſon, his Brother *Marcus* took care of all his Buſineſs. When he died, the People would have buried him in the *Campus Martius*, with *Sylla*, but his Brother prevail'd, that it might be in the *Tuſculan* Field, according to his deſire; nor did he long ſurvive him.

The

# The Compariſon of *Lucullus* with *Cimon*.

THE younger Years of theſe two Great Men were very different, thoſe of *Cimon* Infamous and Intemperate, but thoſe of *Lucullus* Moderate and Continent. But then the firſt growing older, threw off his Effeminacy; the later, after he had ſet a Guard on his Youth, gave up his Old-age to Pleaſure and Luxury. Nor do I think the Gardens and Fiſh-Ponds of *Lucullus* at *Naples* and *Tuſculum* to be compar'd to the South-wall built by *Cimon* for the ſafety of the City. The Table of *Cimon* fed and maintain'd abundance, but the Royal Banquets of *Lucullus* were confind to a few. But it cannot be judg'd whether *Cimon*, if ſurviving the Wars he had liv'd to Old-age, would not have faln into the ſame Luxury, eſpecially in doating on Women, to whom he was always too prone. But the Conduct and Courage of both was very great, they proving themſelves great Generals both at Land and Sea. But *Cimon* in one day gaining both a Naval and Terreſtrial Victory, vindicates the firſt Glory to himſelf, and the ſecond to his Country. *Lucullus* receiving his Command from his Country, added not a little to the Extent and Power of the *Roman* Empire, and the Wealth of the Confederates and Allies. *Cimon* finding his Country ſubſervient, if not ſubject to *Sparta*, not only ſet it at liberty, but by his Conqueſt over the *Perſians*, and denying them to approach the Sea, rais'd *Athens* to the Command of all *Greece*. If the Obedience of the Soldiers be a Proof of the Excellence of a General, *Cimon* had much the Advantage; who had not only his own Men in exact Diſcipline, and compliant to his Command, but Foreigners voluntarily ſubmitted to his Direction: But his Soldiers at laſt even hated *Lucullus*. Both of them having attaqu'd the moſt powerful of Princes, fell in the height of their Deſigns and Expectations; *Cimon* by Death, *Lucullus* by Envy, being recall'd; yet *Cimon* dy'd in the height of his Glory, *Lucullus* in a private Condition. On the other ſide, *Cimon* diſguſtful to his People, ſuffer'd the *Oſtraciſm*, but *Lucullus* never Baniſhment. *Lucullus* very much out-went him in the Extent of his Conqueſts, being the firſt *Roman* who carry'd an Army over *Taurus*, paſs'd the *Tigris*, took and burnt the Royal Palaces of *Aſia* in the very ſight of the Kings, *Tigranocerta*, *Cabira*, *Sinope* and *Niſibis*; ſubduing the North parts as far as *Phaſis*, and the Eaſt as far as *Media*, the South as far as the Red-Sea, and the Kingdoms of *Arabia*, ſo breaking the Power of Mighty Kings, as to drive them like Wild-beaſts into Woods and Wilderneſſes, after which blow they never could revive or do much; but the *Perſians* after *Cimon*, beat the *Greeks* in *Ægypt*, and did greater Miſchief and Damage to *Greece*; but *Lucullus* ſo entirely broke *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, that the firſt fled into the *Boſphorus*, and *Tigranes* diſarm'd and unattended, laid his Diadem at the Feet of *Pompey*, both falling into that miſery more by the Victories of *Lucullus*, than the Valour of *Pompey*. *Cimon* made War againſt thoſe who had been beaten by *Themiſtocles*, *Pauſanias*, *Leotichides*; but *Lucullus* worſted thoſe great Kings, whoſe Power was not only yet entire, but

fortify'd and confirm'd by many celebrated Victories. In ſhort, if the power and number of the Enemies of both be to be compar'd, *Cimon* is much inferior to *Lucullus*; yet both were aſſiſted and favour'd by the ſame Divine and Celeſtial Spirit and Deity, which directed *Lucullus* what to attempt, and *Cimon* what to obſerve. Both therefore rais'd their Names to the ſame height of Excellence by the Auſpicies. Their Exit was different, *Cimon* dy'd in his Martial Command, *Lucullus* in a private State; both while their Countries had not yet loſt their Liberty.

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# The LIFE of *NICIAS.*

*Nicias* was an *Athenian*, and the Son of *Niceratus*: He ennobled his Birth by the Greatneſs of his Actions, and Wiſdom of his Conduct. While *Pericles* was at the Head of Affairs, *Nicias* yet a Young-man, was diſtinguiſh'd by his Reputation, ſo far as to be once in joint Commiſſion with him, and ſeveral times General alone, and on his Death ſucceeded him in his Honour, Dignities and Power in the Commonwealth; advanc'd by the Nobility to curb the Inſolence of *Cleon*. Nor was he leſs belov'd by the Common People, for his Gravity was not harſh and diſagreeable, but temper'd with an Affability and Eaſineſs that won on their Affections. His Fearfulneſs both in War and Peace was cover'd by that Succeſs, which he uſually had. Tho' he was not a Man of Eloquence, yet his extraordinary Wealth ſupply'd that Defect, and gain'd him without much difficulty the Favour of the People, to that degree, that none was more valu'd for his Liberality among them. What contributed to his Popularity, was his Devotion, offering Sacrifice every day, and keeping a Prieſt in his Houſe for his Chaplain; whom he conſulted about the future Events of the Commonwealth, and his own private Affairs, eſpecially about his Silver-Mines, which brought him in a conſiderable Revenue. Nor was he generous only to thoſe who did him Service, but all thoſe of whom he had any Fear and Apprehenſion waſted his Liberality. His Application to State Affairs was ſo great, that he ſpent whole Days and Nights about them, not allowing himſelf ſometimes the Relief of Sleep; ſo that the Words of *Agamemnon* might be his, *That he was a Shame to the People, notwithſtanding his Pomp and Grandeur.* The fear of the Fate of *Pericles*, *Damon*, *Antiphon*, but particularly *Laches*, who took *Lesbos*, the firſt three being baniſh'd, and the laſt killing himſelf in the Face of the People, when he had in vain endeavour'd to juſtify his Conduct, made him avoid all little or difficult Undertakings, always in his Commands being for doing what was ſafe, and thus he generally had Succeſs, but always aſcrib'd it to the Gods, or his Soldiers Valour, not to his own Conduct or Bravery.

*His Religion and Piety*

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He took by his Conduct the Iſland of *Cythera* from the *Lacedæmonians*, to whom by its Situation it was very advantageous. He reduc'd ſeveral Places in *Thrace*, which had revolted, ſhutting up the *Megareans* in their Town, took from 'em the Iſle *Minoa* and *Niſea*; making a deſcent into the *Corinthian* Territories, he vanquiſh'd them in Battel, killing their General *Lycopheon*. He ſcour'd the Coaſts of *Laconia*, beating what *Spartans* made head againſt him, took *Thyræa*, Garriſon'd by the *Argine tans*, and carry'd all the Priſoners to *Athens*. The *Spartans* being beaten at the Battel before *Pylos*, four hundred Natives of *Lacedæmon* eſcap'd in a Body into the Iſland of *Spacteria*, whom when the *Athenians* had a mind to get into their Power, they committed the Siege of the Iſland to *Nicias*, *Cleon* having before broke off the Treaty with *Sparta* about them, which proving a work of difficulty and time, *Cleon* incur'd the Anger of the People by his Advice; but laying the blame on the Cowardice of *Nicias*, and boaſting, *That were he General he would ſoon reduce the Iſland*, *Nicias* ſurrenders his Command to him, bidding him do ſome Action, not make a noiſe in Words. He at firſt ſhrunk back, but by the Commands of the People and the Upbraidings of *Nicias*, he took the Command; and as he boaſted, in conjunction with *Demoſthenes*, brought all the *Spartans* that ſurviv'd the fight, Priſoners to *Athens*. This Succeſs of *Cleon* threw not a little Infamy on the Timidity and Cowardice of *Nicias* in ſurrendring his Command to his Enemy; which drew great Miſchiefs on the City, by letting ſuch an Acceſs of Glory and Power come to the Inſolence of *Cleon*. But *Cleon* and *Craſidas*, who were always for keeping up the Wars, being kill'd at *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* ſoon made Peace betwixt the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, which was call'd the Peace of *Nicias*; but *Alcibiades*, who lov'd Action, and hated the *Spartans* for their Application to *Nicias*, and Slight of him, did all he could to involve them in a freſh War, pretending that they had broke the Articles by a new League with the *Bœotians* and the like; ſo that when *Nicias* had gone on an Ambaſſy to *Sparta* in vain, to remove theſe Objections, he fell under the *Athenians* Diſpleaſure, for having loſt them ſo many noble Captives as were taken at *Pylos* and ſurrender'd on the Peace. Thus the Feuds grew e'ry day greater and greater between *Alcibiades* and *Nicias*.

*His Succeſs.*

In the midſt of theſe Conteſts the Ambaſſadors of the *Egeſtans* and *Leontines* arriv'd, and perſuaded the *Athenians* to make War on *Sicily*, which *Nicias* oppoſing, *Alcibiades* carry'd it for them. But *Nicias*, being unable to divert the People from the War, or get himſelf releas'd from the Labour of a General (for he was put in joint Commiſſion with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*) after many Trials to no purpoſe to hinder the War, at laſt he apply'd himſelf to the Expedition. Being at laſt through various Storms arriv'd in *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades* being recall'd to his Tryal, the ſole Command fell into his Hands; *Lamachus* having ſmall power in it, his Poverty being hid by the Riches of *Nicias*, he delays all Action, and lying near *Catana*, waſted the Time to no purpoſe. Towards the end of the Campaign he ſends a Man as a Deſerter

*His Victory over the* Syracusians.

to *Syracuse* to draw their Army to *Catana*, with a promise of surprizing all the *Athenians* and burning their Fleet; but as soon as they were march'd off, *Nicias* comes to *Syracuse*, and secures his Camp, and on their Return fights and overcomes them.

The next year he brought his Army with such Secrecy and Celerity to *Syracuse*, that no-body knew of his Arrival before his Gallies were in *Thapsus*, or of his Descent on and surprizal of *Epipolæ*. Then he beat their chief Regiments, took 300 Prisoners, and routed their reputed invincible Cavalry, and in a little time surrounded *Syracuse* with a Wall, to the Terrour of that People, and the Surprize of all *Greece*; all which he did under a very great Indisposition of Body, labouring all-along with the Gravel and Stone, which alone hindred the perfect compleating this Wall, yet notwithstanding his Illness he would be in all Actions, where he generally bore off the Victory. But when his Distemper grew more violent, he was fain to leave all the Command of the Army to *Lamachus*, who in a Fight with the *Syracusians* that were bringing a cross Wall from the Town to stop the finishing that of the *Athenians*, fighting in single Combat with *Callicrates*, was kill'd by him, as he was at the same time by *Lamachus*, whence the *Syracusians* making to the Camp where *Nicias* lay sick, by the burning the Wood for Engines they were dispers'd and the Camp secur'd. Soon after many Cities join'd him, *Syracuse* it self had Debates of surrendring to him by Treaty. But *Gongylus* of *Corinth* coming into the City, assur'd them of Relief from *Gylippus*, which was soon confirm'd by his sending for them to march out, and joyn his Army, yet did the *Athenians* gain the Victory; but the next day after, *Gylippus* fighting them again on the same Ground and with the same Men Horse and Arms, only by altering the order of Battel, won the Victory, driving the *Athenians* into their Camp, and bringing a cross Wall, so that they cut off all the Benefit of their past pains and labour. *Nicias*, after this, was briskly attaqu'd both by Sea and Land, and tho' at first he had the disadvantage in his Shipping, yet he sunk and destroy'd many of the Enemies Gallies; but not being able to reinforce the Garrison of *Plemmyrion*, *Gylippus* surpriz'd it, to the Detriment of the *Athenians*, there losing the Naval Stores, and a great Sum of Money, and were cut off from Provisions, with which from *Plemmyrion* they us'd to be plentifully and easily suppl'd.

The News of these ill Events coming to the *Athenians* by the Letters of *Nicias*, who desir'd a discharge from his Command, by reason of his Illness, and that they should send a new Army, or rather recall this; *Eurymedon* is just dispatch'd in the midst of Winter, with Money and Commissions for *Euthydemus* and *Menander* to be joint Commanders with him; and in Spring *Demosthenes* with a great Fleet. The two new Generals resolving to do some brave Action before the Arrival of *Demosthenes*, forc'd *Nicias*, contrary to his Mind, to a Sea-fight, in which they were worsted, to the great Mortification of *Nicias*, whom ev'n Companions in Command could not make more fortunate. *Demosthenes* being now arriv'd with about 7000 Recruits, and 70 Sail, he

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contrary to the Perſuaſions of *Nicias*, reſolv'd to fall on the Enemy in the Night: Yet when by ſurprize he had ſlain many of the Foe, he could not be ſatisfy'd but he muſt purſue the Advantage ſo far, till falling foul on each other in the dark, they fell by the the *Syracuſians*, and down Precipices, to the number of 2000, the reſt eſcaping to their Camp. This Ill-luck made *Demoſthenes* propoſe to quit *Sicily*, ſince no more Forces were to come, and thoſe inſufficient to do their buſineſs; at leaſt, that they ſhould quit that unwholeſom part of the Country; but *Nicias* would not yield to it till another Army came to the Aſſiſtance of the *Syracuſians*. But having embarqu'd the greater part of his Army on board 110 Veſſels, they were attaqu'd and beaten by the *Syracuſians*. The *Athenians* being thus again overcome, put all their Hopes of Safety in their flight by Land. But it was great miſery for them to deſert their wounded Companions, and yet a greater miſery to ſuffer what they muſt if they did not flie; nor was the ſight of *Nicias* in that ſick Condition, without Neceſſaries, a leſs miſerable Spectacle. Notwithſtanding all their Wants and Fatigues, they ſuſtain'd the continual Shock of the inſulting Foe for eight Days together, till *Demoſthenes* and his Party being vanquiſh'd by the Enemy, he run himſelf thro' with his Sword, but not dying, was taken Priſoner. This Diſaſter very much alarm'd *Nicias*, who in the Night march'd away to the River *Aſſinarus*, where being overtaken by the Enemy, the greateſt part of his Men were kill'd, and he with the reſt made Priſoners. *Gylippus* was careful of *Nicias*, but left the reſt to be rifled, their Arms and Spoils hung upon the Trees by the River. But the *Syracuſians* crowning themſelves with Garlands, and adorning their Horſes, march'd as in Triumph into the City with the *Athenian* Captives, who with their Horſes were cloſe ſhav'd. They decreed, That this Day of the taking *Nicias* ever after to be kept Holyday, under the Name of the *Aſſinarian Feaſt*. They condemn'd the Leaders to Death, and all the other to work on their Quarries. *Nicias* and the other Commanders kill'd themſelves, and many of the Common Soldiers periſh'd in their Slavery by Ill-uſage and Hard-fare; many others that were ſold for Slaves got either their Liberty or Kind-uſage by teaching ſome of the Verſes of the Poet *Euripides*, who was much eſteem'd by the *Sicilians*. The Buckler of *Nicias* is at this day ſhown in a Temple of *Syracuſe*. The News arriving at *Athens* was ſcarce at firſt believ'd, but when confirm'd, brought great ſorrow to that City.

*Nicias taken Priſoner.*

*The death of Nicias*

# The LIFE of M. CRASSUS.

*Marcus Craſſus* was the Son of *Craſſus*, a Man of Modeſty and Frugality, being diſtinguiſh'd by having had the Honour of Triumph, Cenſorſhip, and other Dignities. The Frugality of the Father degenerated into ſordid *Avarice* in the Son;

Son; to gratifie which he made ſo great a Court to *Licinia* the Veſtal Virgin, that he was accus'd of being too familiar with her, but was acquitted, his Love being indeed to a fair Country *Villa* of hers (not to her) which by his Addreſſes he hop'd to buy at an under-price; nor did he leave her till he got her Eſtate. *Craſſus* had many Virtues, but all were eclips'd by his *Avarice*, which was ſo eminent, that as it obſcur'd his Virtues, ſo it hid all his other Vices by it's Greatneſs and Conſpicuouſneſs. Thus when all Men of Honour and Probity avoided buying the Goods and Lands of the Proſcrib'd Citizens and Cities by *Sylla*, *Craſſus*, by buying much for little, by begging Grants and the like, got together beſides a vaſt Eſtate in Lands, innumerable Slaves and Servants, Architects, and Coin'd Money. He was a great Maſter of Oeconomy, and always was at hand to overlook his Servants, ſaying, *That the Maſter ought to look after his Servants, and they after every thing elſe.* He would to a Friend lend Money without Intereſt, but then exacted it punctually on the Day. He would buy Houſes on Fire, and ſell the Ground to the Citizens to Build on, employing his own Slaves for the Builders; ſo that he had almoſt engroſs'd the whole City. His Original Eſtate was not more than 300 Talents, or about 35000 *l.* yet before his *Parthian* Expedition, beſides feaſting the whole City, and giving to every Citizen Corn for three Months, and ſacrificing the Tenths of all he had to *Hercules*, his Eſtate amounted to 70000 Talents [which makes ſomething more than 8156000] which was all got out of Fire and Rapine, by the Fires and Proſcriptions of *Rome*.

His chief Study was *Rhetoric*, as the moſt qualifying for Public Employments, and tho' he was naturally as good a Speaker as any, yet in Induſtry and Application he exceeded all, never coming unprepar'd to the moſt trivial and inconſiderable Tryal; never refuſing the Cauſe of the moſt deſpicable, making himſelf grateful to the People. Another thing that won their Affections, was, that he with Affability ſaluted and return'd the ſalute of the meaneſt Citizen, calling him by his Name. He was well read in *Ariſtotles* Philoſophy, but his Tutor *Alexander* came never the richer out of his Houſe for his Inſtructions.

When he was very young, his Father and Brother being ſlain with many more of the Nobility, by *Marcus* and *Cinna*, he fled away to *Spain* to eſcape the ſame Fate, where for eight Months he, with three Friends and ten Servants, lay conceal'd in a Cave on the Sea-ſide that belong'd to *Vibius Pacianus*, who ſupply'd them not only with Neceſſaries, but ev'n with things for Pleaſure, as Women, Wine, and Proviſion in Plenty. But *Cin-*

*na*

*na* being dead, leaving the Cave, and being joyfully receiv'd by all, he got together a little Army of about 2500 Men, and pass'd into *Lybia* to *Metellus Pius*; but a Difference arising betwixt them, he went over to *Sylla*, by whom he was honourably receiv'd, and when he was going into *Italy*, by him was sent against the *Marsians*. He passing through the midst of the Enemy, gave signal Proofs of his Courage. And here began the Emulation betwixt him and *Pompey*; tho' *Pompey* by the Judgment of all excell'd him, for his native Sordidness and Avarice sunk his Virtues in the general Opinion, for when he had taken *Thurdesia* in *Umbria*, he plunder'd it, and converted all the Spoil to his own Use; of which he was accus'd to *Sylla* himself. Nor did he recurr a small Infamy in buying up the Goods and Lands of the Proscrib'd for Trifles, and for putting one of *Brescia* into the Proscription without *Sylla*'s knowledge, for which reason *Sylla* never after trusted him in Public Affairs. He was a very artful Flatterer of others, and yet extreamly liable to swallow Flattery himself; the Power of *Pompey* increasing, he could not view him with envious Eyes, and on his being call'd *Pompey the Great*, he scoffingly ask'd how bigg he was? To cope therefore with *Pompey*, by Money and Eloquence against his Virtues and Valour, he apply'd himself wholly to the People in every Office, Pleading, Largesses, and Industry. Nor was he satisfy'd to have *Cæsar* prefer'd to him; which made *Cæsar* say when he was taken by the Pyrates in *Asia*, *How joyful will this News make thee, O* Crassus! yet not long after they were reconcil'd, for when the Equipage of *Cæsar* was seiz'd by his Creditors, *Crassus* was engag'd for the Payment of 830 Talents; *Rome* was then divided into three Factions, the best Citizens sided with *Pompey*, the Seditious with *Cæsar*, and *Crassus* now join'd with one, and then with another, as he thought it could conduce to his Interest.

*His Envy of Pompey.*

The War of the *Gladiators* under the Conduct of *Spartacus* now breaking out, after the miscarriage of some Leaders in it, *Crassus* was at last deputed to that Service; who first drove *Spartacus*, flying from *Lucania* to the Sea-shore, where he being deceiv'd by the Pyrates of *Cilica*, who had agreed to transport him and his Men into *Sicily*, he led his Men back into the *Isthmus* of *Rhegium*, where *Crassus* coop'd him up by building a Wall from Sea to Sea, and making a Ditch 15 Foot broad and as many deep. But *Spartacus* streighten'd for Provisions, in a dark Night, the Wind being high and loud, fill'd part of the Ditch with Earth and Boughs, pass'd his Men over, and gave *Crassus* once more the slip: *Crassus* pursu'd him close, lest he should march directly to *Rome*, and near the *Lucanian* Lake brings him to Battel and kills 12000 on the spot, *Spartacus* with the

the reſt flying to the Mountains of *Petilia*. Some little Succeſſes here againſt *Quintus* and *Scropha* ſent in purſuit of them, made the Slaves mutinous and force *Spartacus* to go back and fight *Craſſus* once more, where the Army being broke by the *Romans*, *Spartacus* fell, bravely fighting one againſt many.

Tho' this War was finiſh'd by *Craſſus*, yet *Pompey* by picking up the Straglers came in for a ſhare of the Reputation, and the Enemies of *Craſſus* ſo far extenauted the matter, that he could ſcarce obtain an *Ovation*. Yet ſoon after he was choſen Conſul with *Pompey*, but nothing remarkable paſs'd in their Conſulſhip by their diſagreement but the Feaſt that *Craſſus* made the People at ten thouſand Tables, and gave them Corn for three Months. Nor was his Cenſorſhip with *Lutatius Catulus* more active. *Craſſus* was thought to be guilty of the Conſpiracy of *Cataline*, never favouring *Cicero* after the Execution of the Conſpirators, and his declaring, *That he brought him a Letter by Night, which made ſome diſcovery of that Plot.*

*He Feaſts the People in his Conſulſhip.*

*Cæſar* now returning from *Gaul*, finds *Craſſus* and *Pompey* at variance, whom he reconcil'd, and by that means obtain'd the Conſulſhip, and afterwards the Province of *Gaul*. But when the Fame of *Cæſar* e'ry day encreas'd, and he ſeem'd more inferiour to him, he was ready to dye with Envy. But when he and *Pompey* met him at *Lucca*, they there agreed to fix all the Power of *Rome* in themſelves, and by common Intereſt united, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, to the great detriment of the Republic, were choſen Conſuls, and *Gallia* was decreed to *Cæſar* for five years longer, *Pompey* had *Spain*, and *Craſſus Syria*, for their Provinces.

*Craſſus* was ſo tranſported with this, that contrary to his Nature he grew Vain and Boaſting of future Actions that he ſhould do againſt the *Parthians*; and made an extraordinary haſte in his preparations for this Expedition. At length going from *Rome* to *Brunduſium*, with ill Omens, he paſs'd thence into *Galatia*, and ſo march'd againſt the *Parthians*. He made a Bridge over *Euphrates*, and took in many Towns of *Meſopotamia* that voluntarily ſurrender'd to him, but taking *Zenodotia*, where the Tyrant *Apollonius* dwelt, by ſtorm, he gave it to the Soldiers Plunder, and admitted them to ſalute him *Imperator*. Having Garriſon'd the new Conqueſts he return'd to Winter in *Syria*, where he ſpent his time more like a Uſurer than a General, neglecting the Diſciplin of his Army, computing the Revenue, and weighing the Treaſure in the Temple of *Hierapolis*, raiſing Soldiers, and diſmiſſing them for Money, when he ſhould have gone and ſeiz'd *Babylon*, and *Seleucia*, Cities never Friends to the *Parthians*: But he had as little Regard to his Conduct as to the Prodigies, which foretold the Evil Event of his Expedition; for when he came out of the Temple, young *Craſſus* ſtumbled, and he fell over him: The beginning of the Spring he drew his Army out of their Quarters, and giving no ear to the *Parthian* Ambaſſadours, with the Promiſes of *Artuaſdes* King of *Armenia*, immediately march'd into the Enemies Country. But he had not march'd far e'er Intelligence was brought

*Neglects the Prodiges.*

brought that *Syrena* with a great Body of Horſe and Archers were near at hand, whoſe Proweſs and Strength were extreamly magnify'd, to the Terror of the Soldiers, but that touch'd not *Craſſus* at all. The Prodigies added to their Fear, it Thundering in a clear Day, and a Storm of Wind tore down the Bridge, and a Thunderbolt fell on the very Ground where they were to encamp, the Generals Horſe breaking looſe, plung'd into the River and never was heard of more. Contemning all theſe things, *Craſſus* march'd farther into *Parthia*, *Ariamnes* an *Arabian* came into the Camp, a Man very ſubtile and cunning, and made for deceit: he pretends to be an Enemy to the *Parthians* and a Friend to the *Romans*, having ſerv'd in their Armies, that ſo he might get Credit, and lead them into the Ambuſcade deſign'd for their Ruin; he therefore perſuades *Craſſus* to quit the River; his only Security, and march directly againſt the Enemy while yet the Terror was upon them, who on his approach would certainly flie ev'n to *Scythia*. *Craſſus* believing all he ſaid, took him for the Guide to his Army. He firſt led the *Romans* thro' fine Plains, then thro' rugged Ways, and at laſt thro' vaſt ſandy Deſarts, covering his Deſign all this while by Flattery and a cunning Addreſs, till he had brought them to the place deſign'd, and then in the following Night made his Eſcape. *Prodigies*

The day coming on, the Enemy appears from the Woods, and made immediately an Attaque on *Craſſus*, but feigning a Flight, drew *Craſſus* the younger, and *Cenſorinus Plaucus* to a Purſuit; when turning on them they drove them to an Eminence, where being expos'd to the *Parthian* Arrows, they were all kill'd but 500 taken Priſoners. *Craſſus* the younger, and the other Men of Quality having kill'd themſelves, the *Parthians* cut off his Head, and bore it to the main Army of the *Romans*, where renewing the Battel, they fought till it was Night, to the ſlaughter of many Thouſands. In the Night *Craſſus* conſidering the ill Event, reſolv'd ſecretly to decamp, and accordingly leaving about 4000 wounded, went off with the reſt to *Carræ*, whither (on the diſcovery of his being there) the *Parthians* purſu'd him, in order to beſiege him in that Town; but *Craſſus* again deceiv'd by *Andronicus*, by his perſuaſions fled away the following Night, but being intercepted by the *Parthians*, with ſome difficulty he and *Octavius* gain'd a Hill, and there a while ſecur'd himſelf and his Men. But when *Syrena* found he could not vanquiſh them in that Poſt, he had recourſe to Treachery, offering Peace and a ſecure Retreat to *Craſſus* and his Men. Full of Diffidence, *Craſſus* with *Octavius* and others deſcends, and is after ſome ſtruggle betwixt the *Parthians* and *Romans* kill'd at the Place of Parley, by one of the *Barbarians*. In this Expedition 20000 *Romans* were kill'd, and 10000 taken Priſoners: *Syrena* ſent the Head and right-Hand of *Craſſus* to the King *Hyrodes* into *Armenia*. Then carrying one that was ſomething like and acted *Craſſus*, with him, he enter'd *Seleucia* in a ſort of Mock-Triumph, bearing the Heads of the *Romans* on the ends of their Spears.

The

## The Comparison of *Nicias* with *Crassus*.

IF we compare these two, we shall find the Riches of *Nicias* coming from a much more honest Source than those of *Crassus*, the first coming from the digging of his Silver Mines, the later from the Fires of *Rome* and the Proscriptions of *Sylla*. Immoderate desire of Gain made *Crassus* liable to many Crimes and Enormities, of none of which *Nicias* was the least guilty. *Nicias* was indeed too fearful, but *Crassus* was much-more bold and daring. *Nicias* was very liberal in his Expences about the Worship and Rites of the Gods, in the *Gymnasia*, and Wrestling-places; but *Crassus* more profuse in his Public Feasts and Daily Eating. *Nicias* was plain and sincere, *Crassus* deceitful and proud, usurping the Consulship with the utmost Force. This from his behaving himself sometimes Tyrannically, that for being too subject to Fear deserv'd Reprehension. It was evident that *Nicias* was a great Lover of Peace and Quiet, but *Crassus* was always Covetous of Commands in War. *Nicias* was to blame for giving way to the impudent noise and railing of *Cleon*, being afraid of the War when the Commonwealth was in danger; and *Crassus* was more criminal in seeking out an Occasion of making his Country in a War against the *Parthians* without Ground or Quarrel. *Nicias* did many noble Deeds in War, nor were all his Misfortunes the Effect of his own Errors, but all those of *Crassus* were entirely owing to his own ill Conduct. *Nicias* paid much deference to Prodigies, *Crassus* contemn'd 'em all. The End of both was inglorious; *Nicias* meanly became a Supplicant at the feet of his Enemies; *Crassus* sparing no pains, perish'd by the Fraud of his.

# The LIFE of *EUMENES*.

*Eumenes* the *Cardian* was the Son of a Waggoner in the *Thracian Chersonese*, but liberally educated. King *Philip* passing thro' *Cardia*, and seeing him excel all the Youth of that Place in his Exercises, took him into his Service. After the Death of *Philip* he was so lov'd by *Alexander*, as to be made his principal Secretary. Encreasing e'ry day in the Kings Favour, he was sent General in *India*, succeeding *Perdiccas* in his Command, when he was advanc'd to that of *Hephæstion* lately dead. As a mark of his peculiar Favour, *Alexander* in the Distribution of the *Persian* Ladies among his Officers, gave *Barsine* (by whom he had had his Son *Hercules*) to *Eumenes*. Yet he often incurr'd *Alexander*'s displeasure, on account of *Hephæstion*, and for sending him 1000 Talents, when he desir'd to borrow 300, pretending that he had no more; so that the King order'd his Tent to be set on fire in the Night, designing thus to take him in a manifest Lye; but the Fire prevailing, burnt all his Papers; which troubled *Alexander* so, that he sent Edicts about, that all the Princes should send new Copies

of

of the Papers that were burnt, and the Metal that was melted in the Conflagration amounted to more than 1000 Talents; of which *Alexander* would not touch the leaſt Particle.

On *Alexanders* Death there aroſe a mighty Conteſt among the Commanders, about the diviſion of the Kingdoms and Provinces. *Eumenes* expecting neither Succeſs nor fair Play from *Leonatus*, ſecretly flyes away to *Perdiccas* with 300 Horſe, 200 Servants, and 5000 Talents of Silver. By this he is not only obligingly receiv'd, but eſtabliſh'd in *Cappadocia*. And as he paid *Perdiccas* a great deal of Reſpect, ſo he gave not a few Proofs of his Fidelity to his Cauſe. But when *Antipater* and *Craterus* came upon thoſe Parts, *Perdiccas* declar'd *Eumenes* General, and order'd *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus* to be obedient to *Eumenes* as Commander in chief of the Forces of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, while he march'd againſt *Ptolomy*; which Order when *Neoptolemus* refus'd to obey, but rather oppos'd *Eumenes*, he was by him beaten and put to flight; who flying to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, adviſ'd them by all means, by Promiſe and fair Words to get *Eumenes* over from *Perdiccas*; but when *Eumenes* plainly told them, *That he would rather lay down his Life than forfeit his Word*, *Craterus* march'd againſt him with a very great part of the Army. *Eumenes* being ſenſible of the motion of the Enemy, and finding himſelf not an equal match for them, as likewiſe having no great Confidence in the *Macedonians*, deſign'd to move his Camp in the Night; but hearing a Viſion in the Night which portended him Succeſs, he ſtaid, and the next Day full of Hopes and Spirit, put his Army in array. But fearing if the *Macedonians* ſhould know *Craterus* to be there they would revolt, would not poſt them againſt him, but in their room plac'd two Squadrons of Foreign Horſe under the Command of *Pharnabazus* with order to charge as ſoon as they ſaw the Enemy, and he at the Head of 300 of his beſt Horſe led the Right-Wing againſt *Neoptolemus*. *Craterus* behaving himſelf gallantly, is at laſt beat down by a Wound from a *Thracian*, and trampled on by the Men, as not being known till *Gorgias* one of *Eumenes* Captains knew him, who alighting from his Horſe, guarded his Body. On the other ſide *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*, fir'd by mutual Hatred, as if two Encounters were nothing, in indignation drawing their Swords, they vigorouſly attaqu'd each other, and ſeizing on one-another, their Horſes moving away, both came to the Ground together; where *Eumenes* wounds *Neoptolemus* in the Ham as he was firſt riſing, and after a weak Wound return'd, *Eumenes* kills him on the Spot. Being thus poſſeſs'd of the Spoils of this Enemy, News was brought of the death of *Craterus*; ſo he immediately, notwithſtanding his Wounds, went to him, whom finding yet breathing, taking him by the Hand, deplor'd the unhappy Fate of ſo great a Man, and one who had once been his Friend. The News of this Victory came to *Ægypt* too late to ſave *Perdiccas*, who was two days before murder'd there by his Men.

*He flies to* Perdiccas.

*The Combate betwixt* Eumenes *and* Neoptolemus.

But *Eumenes*, now twice victorious, in ten days time incurr'd more Hatred with both his Enemies and Confederates than he obtain'd Glory, becauſe, being a Stranger, he had vanquiſh'd and kill'd one of the principal of the *Macedonians*. The *Macedonians* being

being by this provok'd, declar'd him guilty of Death, and *Antigonus* and *Antipater* Generals. *Eumenes* therefore, being careful to withstand the Shock of so important a War, avoided Battel as much as he could, by leading his Army now into *Lydia*, and now into *Phrygia*: Where by chance falling in with the Baggage of *Antigonus*, and the Women and Riches, fearing that if his Soldiers became Masters of them they would be less vigorous in Fight, less able to retreat, and less patient in undergoing the Fatigues of his Marches, to disappoint, without disgusting them, he propos'd their resting, and finding their Horses after the Refreshment to be the more vigorous for the Attaque, he in the mean while sent *Menander*, who was the Leader of the Convoy, word, *That he should remove them out of the Plains into the Mountains, lest they should fall into his Soldiers Hands, and be took.*

Some little time after, finding that his Forces were not able to cope with the Enemy, he dismiss'd the greatest part of his Army, and retir'd to *Nova* with 500 Horse, and 200 Foot, where he likewise dismiss'd many that were terrify'd with the streightness of the Place, hardness of the Fare, and the want of Provisions. And tho' *Antigonus* press'd the Siege very close, yet by the sweetness of his Behaviour, pleasantness of his Discourse, and the agreeableness of his Aspect, (for he was by Nature and Countenance very pleasing, always adorn'd with the Charms of Youth in his Face) he lessen'd the Tediousness and Fatigue of the Siege. The narrowness of the place allowing but little Room for Exercise, he found a new way of exercising the Horse, till they swouned away in the very places where they stood. In short, he held out the Siege so long, that News was brought to *Antigonus* of the Death of *Antipater*, and that great Animosities arose betwixt *Polipercon* and *Cassander*. He therefore knowing that *Eumenes* would be of great use to him, with his Advice and Management, came to a Treaty; but making some alterations in the Oath propos'd by *Antigonus*, which he submitted to the Soldiers, he with 1000 Men stole away by Night from *Antigonus*, fearing no good Treatment from his Hands. Being thus got free, he was by *Olympias* sent for into *Macedon*, to take care of the Education of her Son *Alexander*; but by the Advice and Order of *Polypercon* and *Philip*, he was made Governour of *Cappadocia*, and General of the Forces of that Country, to oppose *Antigonus*; who tho' he was civily receiv'd by reason of the Queen's Letters by *Antigenes* & *Teutamus*, the chief *Officers* of the *Argyraspides*, yet their *Envy* and *Emulation* very much limited his *Power*; for they disdain'd to attend him to *consult*, and he *them*, but *pretending* to see a *Vision* in the *Night*, he reconcil'd this matter, saying, *That* Alexander *appear'd to him, & show'd him a Royal Pavilion, with a Throne in the midst*, saying, *Here shall you consult on matters of Importance, and I'll be with you, and give you my Assistance.* Having declar'd this *Vision*, a Royal *Tent* was set up, and call'd *Alexander*, where they all *met* for the dispatch of *Business*. *Eumenes* finding that he had *Reason* to be apprehensive of his *own Safety*, borrow'd *considerable Sums* of *the most* powerful and leading Men among 'em, who to be sure would *watch* for him, to *preserve* him, lest by his Death they *should* lose the Money. *Antigonus* coming on *them* with powerful Forces, the effeminate Leaders were terrify'd, but

*Eumenes*

*Eumenes* made a brave defence and routed the Enemy, becoming Master of 4000 of his Men at the River *Pasitigris*, and kill'd a great number. This still heightening the Envy of the chief of the *Agyraspides*, they consulted his Death. But *Eudimus* and *Phædimus*, two who had lent him Money, gave him an Account of all that was transacted: So *Eumenes* burning all his Papers, that his Correspondents should not be discover'd to their damage, baffled at that time their Attempts. But seeing that Fate could not be avoided, he design'd to fight *Antigonus*, and put all things to the Decision of a Battel, in which *Antigonus*, by the ill Conduct or Cowardise of some of the Leaders that were Enemies to *Eumenes*, got the better, and being superiour in Horse to *Eumenes* he got the Baggage into his Hands. But the chief of the *Agyraspides* being much affected with the loss, sent to *Antigonus* to demand the Baggage again, which *Antigonus* promis'd to return, provided they surrender'd to him only *Eumenes* alive. They made no great delay in the Debate, but surpriz'd him, bound his Hands, after which, making a pathetique Speech to the Soldiers in vain, he was carry'd in Chains to *Antigonus*, who would not admit him to an Interview. He commanded him to be kept like an *Elephant* or *Lyon*, and a little time after to be kill'd; but burning his Body, he enclos'd his Ashes in a Silver Urn, and sent them to his Wife and Children; and afterwards reveng'd him on the *Agyraspides* as a Company of savage and inhumane Beasts, and so dispers'd and destroy'd them, that they never came into *Macedon*, or scarce so much as to the *Grecian* Sea.

Eumenes *surpriz'd and deliver'd to* Antigonus.

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# The LIFE of *SERTORIUS.*

*Quintus Sertorius* was of a noble Family, and born in the City of *Nursia* in the Country of the *Sabines*, and there carefully educated by his Mother *Rhea*, and flourish'd in Oratory and Pleading ev'n in his Youth, and got as uncommon Authority and Praise in that Art. But afterwards applying himself to the War, he made an extraordinary Progress in Military Executions, and discover'd a Vigour and Bravery very peculiar. He first serv'd under *Cepio*, in *Gaul*, against the *Cimbri*, where the *Romans* in an Encounter with the *Barbarians* being put to flight, after a noble Defence, he found the

*His bold Undertaking.*

rapid *Rhoſne* in his Armour. Afterwards he fought under *Marius*, againſt the ſame *Cimbri*, who had ſpread a great Terror of themſelves over all *Italy*; he ventur'd boldly to go as a Spy into their Camp in a *Celtic* Habit, and impos'd on them by thoſe few Words he learn'd of their Language. Having made what Diſcoveries he thought neceſſary, he return'd to *Marius*, with the Intelligence, which made him more valu'd by *Marius* than any of his Age or Condition in the Army. Being after this a *Tribune* of the Soldiers, he was ſent by *Didius* into *Iberia*, where the Soldiers being corrupted by Abundance, were grown diſſolute and unruly, which gave him a great deal of difficulty in managing them. The People of the Town entring into a Conſpiracy with the *Gyriſænians* their Neighbours, who in the Night being let in, fell upon the *Roman* Garriſon and kill'd many of them, but *Sertorius* drew many in the hurry out of the Town, and rally'd the reſt, that had made their Eſcapes, and marching round the Town, enter'd at the Gate by which the *Gyriſænians* had before been admitted, and which was yet left open, fell upon the *Barbarians*, and put all to the Sword who were of Age to bear Arms; and immediately making his Men put on the Enemies Cloaths and Arms, went out againſt their City; where the People, deceiv'd by their Habits and Arms admitting them, moſt of them they put to the Sword, and the reſt ſold for Slaves. The Fame of this extraordinary Action made him not only admir'd in all *Spain*, but reaching *Rome*, procur'd him the *Quætorſhip* of *Gallia Ciſalpina* on both ſides the River *Po*. The *Marſic* War being decreed, he ſhow'd ſuch Addreſs and diſpatch in raiſing of Men, and ſuch Application in Buſineſs, that he infinitely outdid, and compenſated the Sloathfulneſs and Negligence of thoſe that were with him employ'd in that Affair. *Sertorius* boldly encountring all Dangers, and valorouſly expoſing himſelf in the moſt deſperate Attempts, had one of his Eyes cut out. But he eaſily comforted himſelf for the loſs, by his ſaying, *That he had the Advantage of others by it, ſince now he always carry'd the Enſigns and Trophies of his Courage about him, which others could only do occaſionally*: The Bravery of ſupporting his Misfortune won the People more than the Thing, to whom he was ſo dear, that when he enter'd the *Theatre*, they receiv'd him with clapping their Hands, beating their Feet, and Acclamations, a Reſpect not eaſily obtain'd by thoſe of greater Age and Dignity; yet he could not vanquiſh the Oppoſition of *Sylla*, when they ſtood for the Tribuneſhip of the People but loſt his Point; which gave him entirely to the Intereſt of the Faction of *Marius*, and an Inveterate Hatred of *Sylla*. *Cinna* and *Octavius* were Conſuls, the firſt was for *Marius*, the later for *Sylla*, the

*He is ſent into* Spain.

*He recovers the City, and takes that of the* Gyriſænians.

the two Consuls coming to blows in the very *Forum*, *Cinna* was driven out of the City by *Octavius*, *Sertorius* was with the former, and run his Fate. But *Cinna* afterwards gathering Head, and receiving *Marius* on his Return out of *Africa* with three Armies under *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, they march'd to *Rome*, and vanquish'd *Octavius*: Who being destroy'd, *Cinna* and *Marius* gave themselves up to all Excesses of Cruelty; but when the Slaves whom *Marius* had set free to encrease his Army, and were the Villians that executed all his Barbarity, had kill'd their Masters, ravish'd their Ladies, and abus'd their Children; *Sertorius* unable to bear these Indignities, as never himself doing any Injury to any one of the Citizens, kill'd 4000 of them together, as they lay encamp'd. *Destroys 4000 Slaves at once.*

When *Marius* was dead, *Cinna* slain, and young *Marius* vanquish'd by *Sylla*, *Carbo*, *Norbanus* and *Scipio* unable to resist the successful Arms of *Sylla*, and *Sertorius* himself, by his Wisdom and Activity to balance the Folly and Remisness of the other Commanders, despairing of the Prospeitry of *Rome*, he left *Italy*, and with all expedition arriv'd in *Spain* to prevent the Enemy, and seiz'd that Country, as a Refuge of his declining Party. Assuming the Province, by his Civilities to the Nobility, and releasing the Taxes, and freeing the Cities from finding Winter-Quarters for his Soldiers, he won the Hearts of all Degrees. *Returns to* Spain.

But Fortune suffer'd him not long to enjoy this Happiness, when notwithstanding all his Caution of placing *Julius Salinator* in the *Pyræneans* with six thousand Men, he was by *Caius Annius* driven out of *Spain*; he retir'd then from new *Carthage* with 3000 Men to *Africa*, where his Men landing for Water, and straggling about, were many of them lost. So returning again towards *Spain*, & being join'd by the *Cilician* Pyrates, sailing to *Pytusa*, took the Island, driving out the Garrison plac'd there by *Annius*. But *Annius* coming up with a strong Fleet, *Sertorius* and he being ready to engage, a Storm arose, and put a stop to the Engagement, in which *Sertorius* was lost for near ten days, but escap'd with great difficulty. The storm being over, he past the Streights or Hercules Pillars, and landed his Men a little above the Mouth of the River *Bætis*; he was so pleas'd with the Place, as to have thoughts of retiring thither from the noise and hurry of the World, to Quiet and Repose: The Pyrates who only love War forsook him, and sail'd for *Africa* to assist *Ascalis* in recovering his Father's Crown of *Mauritania*. *Sertorius* and his Soldiers took the contrary Part, beats *Ascalis*, besieges him, kills, and takes Prisoners the Army of the *Romans* sent by *Sylla* to raise the Siege, under the Command of *Pacciacus*, and takes the City of *Tingis*, whither *Ascalis* and his Brothers were fled, and sets the *Mauritanians* at Liberty.

Having dispatch'd these African Affairs with this Success, he is sent for into *Lusitania* or *Portugal*, to be their General, to whom they could trust their Fortune and Condition against the Oppressions of the *Romans*. For *Sertorius* was not to be surpriz'd with Fear, or enslav'd by Pleasure, undaunted in Dangers and Adversity, and never puft up with Success, but equal in all Vicissitudes, affable and obliging, excellent in forming and preventing Stratagems, still out-witting his Enemy; slow to punish, mild and merciful to Offenders. Leaving *Africa* therefore, he came into *Lusitania*, where possessing himself of the Neighbouring Parts of *Spain*, many other Countries surrender'd themselves to his Clemency and known Goodness. Among his other Arts to please and captivate the Hearts of the People, the Imposture of the white Hind was very useful, which he had render'd so tame, that she follow'd him wherever he went, and grew familiar with the noise of the Camp it self; For he persuaded the *Barbarians* that this Hind was the Messenger of *Diana*, and reveal'd many Secrets to him, that all his secret Intelligence he attributed to the Information of this Hind, so that he seem'd to them to have his whole Conduct directed by the Advice and Counsels of the Gods. His wonderful Successes encreas'd and gave credit to this Opinion of the People, for with a small number of Troops he fought, beat, and destroy'd 120000 Foot of the Enemy, 7000 Horse, 2000 Slingers and Archers. He put *Cotta* to flight in a Sea-Engagement; and killing 2000 of his Men, made *Phidius*, Commander of *Spain*, quit the Field. *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius* were routed by one of his Lieutenants; he destroy'd the whole Army, and slew *Toranius*, a Commander sent against him by *Metellus*; *Metellus* himself being so put to it by him, that he was forc'd to call in the Proconsul of *Gallia Narbonensis*; and he so alarm'd *Rome* it self, that she was forc'd to dispatch her beloved *Pompey* to secure her from so great a Terror, with the most considerable Force of the *Roman* Empire; nor did *Metellus* know which way to turn himself, having to do with a Man of his Sagacity and Intrepidity; and tho' *Metellus* was a good Commander of veterane well-disciplin'd Troops, yet he was not able to climb the Hills, and continually to pursue a swift Enemy. He was very old, and indulging his Repose, and unus'd to any thing but a set Battel. But *Sertorius* was a Man in the flower of his Strength, bold and full of Spirit, could bear Hunger, Labour, and hasty Marches, us'd to suddain Onsets, and frequent Stratagems; he so infested *Metellus* with continual watching, setting on him by the steep Hills, and retiring as suddenly through the same, that he left him no opportunity of foraging,

*The Character of* Sertorius.

*The white* Hind.

*His Victory's.*

ing, getting in Provisions, or ev'n of removing his Camp. Finding therefore that *Sertorius* strove to protract the War by avoiding Battel, lays Siege to the City of the *Logabrites*, which he hop'd soon to be Master of by their want of Water; which Evil *Sertorius* having redress'd by his indefatigable Address; when *Metellus*, vext with his disappointment, and having spent most of his Provisions, had sent out *Aquinus* with a Party of 6000 to get in Provisions, *Sertorius* attaqu'd him in the Front while another Party fell on his Rear, and destroy'd and took Prisoners all his Men; which oblig'd *Metellus* to raise the Siege with disgrace, and got *Sertorius* the Admiration, Love, and Praise of all the *Spaniards*, whom he reduc'd to a better and more regular Discipline, arm'd and exercis'd them like the *Romans*. Under Pretence of giving the Children of the Nobility a better Education, he got all their Children to be bred at School in the great City of *Osca*.

There was in *Spain* a Custom, that those who had devoted themselves to the General dy'd with him, which made the Commanders have very few of that sort of Retinue; but *Sertorius* was so belov'd by them, that he had several thousand of these devoted; so that when he once had the worst in a Fight, they lifted their General from Man to Man till he was in safety, and then er'y one took care of himself. His Fame bringing many thousands under his Command, they grew ungovernable in their Attaques of the Enemy; on which he commanded two Horses to be brought into the Field, and a very Strong-man to pull at the Tail of one, and a Weak Decrepit Old-man to pull out the Hairs singly from the Tail; the Strong-man could make nothing of his Endeavours and Strength, but the Weak-man, by pulling one, by one in a little time left the Tail of his Horse bare. *You see*, said *Sertorius* (while they were intent in observing this Action) *that Understanding goes beyond Strength; What therefore cannot be done at one Effort, is by degrees effected, for there is no Force so great which may not be lessen'd in time.* By Inventions and Discourses of this nature he bridled the Impetuosity of the *Barbarians*, and brought them to have Patience to wait the best Opportunities of Action.

His Stratagem against the *Characitanians* rais'd great Admiration and Applause to *Sertorius*. These were Inhabitants of high Hills, and dwelt in Caves; the Situation was impregnable to all things but Art; the Soil is very dusty, and therefore *Sertorius* made his Men to pile up great heaps of this Dust together, and when the North-East Wind blew into their Caves, he made it be dispers'd and thrown about, and being so carry'd into their Habitation, oblig'd them in two days to sur-

ſurrender, that they might not be ſuffocated with the Clouds of Duſt that by this means infeſted them. In ſhort, as long as *Metellus* was his Adverſary, whether by the defect of his Age or Slowneſs, *Sertorius* ſeem'd always ſuperior to him. Nay, ev'n when *Pompey* had paſt the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and encamp'd near him, *Sertorius* plainly ſurpaſs'd him both in defending himſelf and countermining his Enemies, ſo that in *Rome* it ſelf he had the Fame of the greateſt Commander of his Time. As ſoon as *Sertorius* had laid Siege to *Lænon*, *Pompey* came with his whole Army to its Relief, and gave the Inhabitants Aſſurances of a Deliverance, ſhewing them, that *Sertorius* was more beſieg'd, than beſieging; which when *Sertorius* was told, *I will teach* (ſaid he) *this Scholar of* Sylla, *that a General ought to have his Eye behind him, as well as before*; For he had left behind him a ſtrong Party that deny'd *Pompey* the Power of attaquing him, and the People of eſcaping. So the Town being ſurrender'd to him, and in the ſight of *Pompey*, was ſet on Fire, tho' the Inhabitants were ſpar'd and granted their Liberties, only to diſgrace *Pompey*, by ſhowing, that he made Fire enough of his Confederates Town to warm him, but not to heat him to a Boldneſs of relieving them.

The Loſſes ſuſtain'd by the Party of *Sertorius* in theſe Wars were by his Captains, he ſtill preſerving himſelf and the Army, where he was invincible, and was more to be admir'd for repairing thoſe Loſſes, recovering the Victory when viſibly in the hands of the Enemy, than the *Romans* for gaining theſe partial Advantages.

*His Victory over* Pompey.

At the Battel of *Sacro*, begun by the Policy of *Sertorius*, in the Evening, he was not plac'd againſt *Pompey*, but *Afranius*; ſo *Pompey* having almoſt entirely routed the Left Wing, *Sertorius* flying to the Runaways, rallied them, and wreſted the Victory from the *Pompeians*, whom he drove to that Extremity, that *Pompey* loſing his Horſe, and being wounded, very narrowly eſcap'd. *Afrianus*, on his leaving the Right Wing, immediately prevail'd, beat and purſued the *Spaniards* to their Camp, and, ignorant of the Fate of *Pompey*, fell to plunder; but *Sertorius* returning victorious, fell on the diſorder'd Enemy, and ſlew a great number of 'em. The next day drawing into the Field to offer Battel, he retir'd again to his Camp, finding *Metellus* coming to joyn them: *Had not* (ſaid Sertorius) *that Old Woman come to his reſcue, I'd have whipp'd that Boy handſomly, and ſent him home again.*

After this having loſt his white Hind, that was of ſo much uſe to him in the Night, it was found by ſome of his Men, whoſe Silence he bought by a generous Reward; he order'd it to be let looſe when he ſate in his Tribunal, but the no ſooner

ſooner 'ſpied *Sertorius*, but ſhe ran to him and laid her Head in his Lap; he making much of her, all the *Barbarians* were ſtruck with Wonder, and looking on him as one peculiarly favour'd and lov'd by the Gods, rais'd their Hopes higher than ever.

When he had reduc'd his Enemies to great Want, near *Saguntum* being oblig'd to fight 'em and hinder their foraging, he preſs'd ſo hard in the Battel on *Metellus*, who reſiſted with unexpected Vigor, that (being wounded) he had like to have been taken: This Danger of their General rous'd the *Romans* to act with ſuch Vigour, that they put *Sertorius* to flight, he retiring into a ſtrong City in the Mountains, which tho' he deſign'd not long to defend, he fortified, and was beſieg'd in it, till by his Orders all his Men were got together, with Reinforcements from all the Spaniſh Cities, when he left the Town, joyn'd the Army, and again ſet upon the *Romans*: By his Onſets, Ambuſcades, and Stratagems, he cut off all Proviſions from the Enemy, and by his Ships ſtopt all Recruits and Relief by Sea, ſo that the Generals were forc'd to part, *Metellus* going into *Gallia*, and *Pompey* in a wretched condition wintering among the *Bacchæans*. *Metellus* was ſo terrified by him, that he baſely offer'd 100 Talents and 20000 Acres of Land to any *Roman* that ſhould kill *Sertorius*, and his Return, if baniſh'd, deſpairing ever to vanquiſh him by War.

*He fights the Romans.*

*Sertorius* was a Lover of his Country, and admoniſh'd and govern'd all the Spaniſh Cities by the *Roman* Officers and Laws, making a Senate, Prætors, and other Magiſtrates out of the noble *Romans* that were fled to him. And after, when he has been Victorious, he has ſent to *Pompey* and *Metellus* to offer to lay down his Arms, and to live a private Life at home, if he might be permitted ſo to do, for he declar'd, That he had much rather be the leaſt in his own Country, than Command in Exile over the nobleſt and moſt numerous Cities. The Love of his Mother was not the leaſt cauſe of his deſire of returning to *Rome*, and on the News of her Death, he kept his Chamber ſeven days, and admitted no Company.

*His Love of his Country and Mother.*

When his Fame had reach'd *Mithridates*, he refus'd that King, on their Treaty, the very Name of Right to thoſe Countries in *Aſia* out of which *Sylla* had beaten him. The Honour of his Principle, and the Glory he had acquir'd, fill'd ſome of his Party with a deſtructive Envy; among whom *M. Perpenna* was the chief, who having often rail'd at *Sertorius*, and endeavour'd by Treachery to leſſen his Credit with the Spaniards, drew ſeveral into a Conſpiracy againſt his Life. *Sertorius* having invited many to an Entertainment, and being ignorant of the Plot againſt him, made the Conſpirators of that

that number. Where he endeavouring to preſerve the uſual Decorum of this Feaſt. *Perpenna* and the Conſpirators talk'd loudly, and intemperately, as if they were drunk; on which *Sertorius* turning himſelf the other way, as neglecting them, *Perpenna* letting his Goblet fall as a Signal, *Antonius* fell on *Sertorius* with his Sword, and ſeizing on his Hands, held them while the other Conſpirators finiſh'd the Murther with many Wounds.

*Perpenna* ſoon after, ignorant of all thoſe Arts of War which *Sertorius* knew, was routed and taken, and put to Death by *Pompey*; the reſt of them periſh'd in *Africa* by the *Mauritanians*, except *Auſidius*, who dy'd an Old-man in an obſcure Village in *Spain*, in extream Poverty, and hated by all.

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# THE COMPARISON OF *EUMENES* and *SERTORIUS*.

*Eumenes* and *Sertorius*, both Foreigners, commanded great Armies of Countries whereof they were not Natives: *Sertorius* was ſought to the Command, *Eumenes* ſought, and not without great Struggles obtain'd it. This being of *Cherſoneſean Race*, commanded the *Macedonians*, Conquerors of the World; That being a *Roman*, was made General of the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*. No body durſt openly oppoſe or promote a Faction againſt *Sertorius*; a few profligate Men only in private conſpir'd his Death. The Victories of *Sertorius* put an end to his Dangers; but thoſe of *Eumenes* began his, thro' the Malice of thoſe who envied his Glory. Their Martial Deeds would bear a Parallel, but not their Manners: *Eumenes* lov'd War and Contention; *Sertorius*, Repoſe and Tranquility. *Antigonus* would have us'd him honourably, but *Pompey* denied *Sertorius* the retreat of a private Life. *Eumenes* made War out of Choice; *Sertorius*, out of Neceſſity. Their Deaths were likewiſe different: *Sertorius* fell, knowing nothing of the Deſign before; *Eumenes* expected his Death ſome time; he diſtruſted not his Friends, the other was taken in flight. *Sertorius*'s Death diſhonour'd not his Life, he felt that from his Companions which his Enemies could never effect. *Eumenes* in Priſon would have been content to live, and there, by ſueing to his Enemy, made him Maſter of his Mind, whom Fortune had only made ſo of his Body.

The

# The LIFE of *AGESILAUS.*

*Ageſilaus* was the Son of *Archidamus*, of the Race of *Hercules*, and of *Eupolia* the Daughter of *Meliſippidas*. *Ageſilaus* being thus born to live a private Life, was bred up to all the Severity of the *Spartan* Diſcipline; but his Brother *Agis* being dead, and leaving only *Leotychidas* behind him, who was diſown'd by his Father, and begot (even by his Mother *Timea*'s Confeſſion) by *Alcibiades*, during his Reſidence at *Lacedemon* in his Exile: by the power and help of *Lyſander*, *Ageſilaus* was declar'd King, and *Leotychidas* put aſide for Baſtardy by the univerſal Voice of the City. Being made King, he took another method with the *Ephori* and Senate, than his Predeceſſors, who us'd to have continual Conteſts with 'em; whereas *Ageſilaus* always courted, and paid 'em peculiar Honours, doing nothing without their Advice. *He is choſe King.*

He had not long been poſſeſs'd of his Regal Dignity, but News of the Naval Preparations of the *Perſians* arriv'd at *Sparta*; but *Ageſilaus*, by the Perſwaſions of *Lyſander*, prevented them, by transferring the War into the Enemy's Country. So being invited to be choſen General of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, he with thirty *Spartan* Captains, of which *Lyſander* was Chief, Two thouſand of the new-enfranchiz'd *Helotes*, and Six thouſand Allies, ſail'd for *Aſia*, to prevent the Inroads of the *Barbarians* into *Greece*. This News coming to *Tiſaphernes*, he immediately gave them Aſſurances, that he would ſet free all the Greek Cities in *Aſia*, if *Ageſilaus* would allow him but a Truce of three Months. He had not been long in *Aſia*, but he was diſguſted with the Power and Popularity of *Lyſander*, and to put a ſtop to it, never comply'd with any thing that he ſollicited; ſo that their Hatred growing mutual, they parted, *Lyſander* returning to *Sparta*. But *Tiſaphernes* having gain'd this time by his Deceit, ſollicited an Army of the King, not a Peace; and having gain'd that point, ſent to *Ageſilaus*, to let him know, that if he did not quit *Aſia*, he would make War upon him: But *Ageſilaus* was not ſor- *Goes into Aſia.*

ry for his Perjury, but resolv'd to revenge it by a Stratagem, by giving out, that he design'd to march into *Caria*, and at the same time turning his course, and entring *Phrygia*, found it unprovided, *Tisaphernes* having drawn all his Forces thence, so that he became Master of a vast Booty of all sorts.

Being weaker, than the Enemy in Horse, he retir'd to *Ephesus* and rais'd 'em, obliging the Rich Men to find Horsemen to fight in their rooms, who would rather pay, than fight, which soon alter'd the face of his Army, by the addition of so many gallant Horse. The *Phrygian* Prisoners he order'd to be stript and sold, and shewing their Cloaks and Persons to his Men, said, Those are the Men you fight against, and these are the Things you fight for.

The Campaign drawing near, he fairly declar'd, that he would march into *Lydia*, as he did; but *Tisaphernes* believing that to be a Stratagem like the former, expects him in *Caria*, but finding his Errour, marches with his Horse and light-arm'd Men after *Agesilaus*, overtakes and engages him, but is entirely routed, his Camp taken, many of his Men put to the Sword, and *Persia* expos'd to the plunder of the Enemy. All this the King imputing to *Tisaphernes*, sends *Tithraustes* to take off his Head and assume his Government, whose Bribe to return into *Greece*, *Agesilaus* having refus'd, he came to Capitulation with him, to quit his Province and march into that of *Pharnabazus*, where *Cotys* King of *Paphlagonia*, and *Spithridates*, joyn'd him; *Agesilaus* taking of the former 1000 Horse and 2000 light-arm'd Men, he return'd into *Phrygia*. The Son of the later gave a Proof of a Conquest made by *Agesilaus* over himself, more glorious, than any over his Enemies; for, tho' desperately in love with him, he vanquish'd the irregular Passion, and refus'd a Kiss offer'd him by the Boy.

*Absolute by Sea and Land.*

*Agesilaus* before this receiv'd a Commission from *Sparta*, never granted to any before, which was the absolute Command by Sea as well as Land.

*Agesilaus* was always partial to his Friends, tho' exactly just in all things else; thus writing to *Idricus* Prince of *Caria*, he says, *If he be innocent, absolve him; if not, absolve him on my account: but however, be sure absolve him.*

His Fame of Moderation, Temperance, Justice, and all other Virtues, spread unto the *Persian* Monarch himself, he faring and lying as hard as any of his Soldiers: And many Provinces and Cities revolting to him, he resolv'd to march up farther into the Country, and attack the King in *Susa* and *Ecbatene*. But these great Designs are prevented by his being recall'd home, to assist his own Country.

Return-

Returning into *Greece*, he pass'd the *Hellespont*, and went through as many Countries in a Month, as *Artaxerxes* did in a Year. He routed the *Trallians*, that would have him as well as *Xerxes* have bought his passage; thence marching through *Macedon*, he sent as formerly, to desire leave to lead his Army through the Country; the Answer was, That the King would consider of it: In the mean while, said *Agesilaus*, will I march on. This boldness surprizing the *Macedonian*, he sent him a Complement, and let him pass. When the *Pharsalians* grew troublesom, he fought them with 500 Horse, and routing them, set up a Trophy at *Narthacium*. Having gain'd the *Thermopylæ*, he pass'd without disturbance through *Phocis*, enter'd *Bæotia*, and encamp'd near *Chæronea*. When he came near to *Coronea*, in view of the Enemy, he drew up his Army, and after a long, bloody and doubtful Fight routed them, and made them flye as far as *Helicon*. And the next day appear'd crown'd; and erecting a Trophy, the *Thebans* begg'd leave to bury the dead. So giving them Truce to the *Pythian* Games at *Delphos*, he offer'd the 10*th* of his *Asiatic* Spoils, amounting to 100 Talents. Whence he return'd to *Lacedæmon*, where observing his old severe way of Diet and Living, the People were transported with their Love and Admiration of him.

*He returns to* Greece.

*Agesipolis* was his Fellow-King, whom (being a young Man) he amus'd with Amours, in which he made himself his Confidant. By this establishing his Power, he got his half-Brother *Teleutias* to be chosen Admiral; when marching against *Corinth*, by his help on the Sea, he made himself Master of the Long-wall; and whilst he was in the Territory of this City, he put an Affront upon the *Theban* Ambassadours denying them Audience, which when after being worsted he would grant, they in Return desir'd only to go into *Corinth*; That you shall, said he, but first see what benefit of their Advantage they have got. Then he wasted the Country about with Fire and Sword, no *Corinthian* daring to come out to oppose him. Then gathering the Remains of the beaten Squadrons, he march'd home in good order, encamping after night, and marching before day, he avoided the Insults of the *Arcadians*. Tho' he was against the Peace with the *Persians*, promoted by his Enemy *Antolcidas*, yet when made, he threaten'd War against the *Greeks* that refus'd to come up to the Grand Monarchs demands, on purpose to weaken *Thebes*, which he hated. In pursuit of this his hatred, he countenanc'd (if not order'd) *Phœbidas* to seize on the *Cadmea* by Treachery, and persuaded the *Thebans* to take the Fault on themselves, and to retain the *Cadmea*, and made War on the *Thebans*, when *Pelopidas* and his Party had kill'd

the Tyrants, and turn'd out the *Spartan* Garriſon, but ſent his Fellow-King *Cleonymus* againſt them, excuſing himſelf by his Age. In this War *Sphodrias*, by the Inſinuations of ſome Friends of *Thebes*, enters *Attica* by night, deſigning to ſurprize the *Pireum*, but being prevented by the day, return'd back to *Theſpiæ* his Government with diſgrace. The Treachery the *Athenian* Ambaſſadours found highly reſented by the *Spartans*, and *Sphodrias* like to be condemn'd for it; but *Ageſilaus*, by his Indulgence to his Son *Archidamus*'s Amour with *Cleonymus* the Son of *Sphodrias*, manag'd the matter ſo, that he was acquitted; on which the *Athenians* declar'd War againſt *Sparta*, and *Ageſilaus* loſt much of the Love of the People; yet his Wealth and Reputation were ſo great, that they were fain to rely on him in this Exigence, getting full power to alter the Law againſt *Fugitives*; but he only ſuſpending it, at once deliver'd the Citizens from Infamy, and preſerv'd the Law. Then leading them into *Arcadia*, to cure their Conſternation, he plunder'd the Country, avoided a Battel, and took a ſmall Town belonging to the *Mantineans*, to ſhow, that they were not every where unſucceſsful.

But *Epaminondas* invading *Laconia* with 70000 Men, penetrated as far as the *Eurotas*, and *Ageſilaus* avoiding a Battel with ſo numerous an Enemy, only fortify'd ſome parts of the Town; which when *Epaminondas* endeavour'd to attack, unable to bring *Ageſilaus* from his ſtrong holds, forc'd by the hardneſs of the Winter, the ſwelling of *Eurotas*, the disbanding of the *Arcadians*, and the Policy of *Ageſilaus*, he retreated from the Town, and march'd home. Two Seditions in *Sparta* he deſtroy'd by his Conduct about this time. But tho' *Ageſilaus* deliver'd the City from this imminent danger, he could not retrieve its Power and Glory.

*Routes the Thebans from Lacædemon.*

A Treaty coming on, *Ageſilaus* refus'd to Sign it, becauſe he could not ſet his Hand to the giving away the Country of *Miſſene*, ſo the War continu'd; in which the *Mantineans* revolting from the *Thebans* again, the *Spartans* and *Ageſilaus* went to their Aſſiſtance with a good Army; but *Epaminondas* paſſing by it in the Night, had taken *Lacædemon* empty and defenceleſs, had not Intelligence of his march made *Ageſilaus* get into the Town before he got over the *Eurotas*. And when *Epaminondas* attack'd the City he was vigorouſly receiv'd, and forc'd to retreat.

After this, he was invited into *Ægypt* by *Tachos*, where being arriv'd, and diſoblig'd, by the conſent of the Council of *Sparta* he quitted his ſide, and went over to *Nectanabis*, whom with ſome difficulty having ſettled in the Throne of *Ægypt*, he return'd home with much Riches, and more Honour,

*Hegoes to Egyp.*

*Necta-*

*Nectanabis* presenting the *Spartan* State with 230 Talents for the carrying on of their Domestick Wars. But the Winter Season being tempestuous, he was by a Storm driven on the barren Island of *Africa*, call'd the *Haven of Menelaus*, where just upon landing he expir'd, in the 84th year of his Age, and 41st of his Reign; 30 of which he past in great Splendour and Glory, being look'd on as General and King of all *Greece*, in the Battel of *Leuctra*. His Body they embalm'd in Wax, and carry'd it home to *Lacedæmon*.

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# The LIFE of *POMPEY*.

THE People of *Rome* seem to have had a peculiar Love for *Pompey* from his very Childhood; tho' they never gave greater marks of hatred against any of their Generals than against *Stravo* the Father of *Pompey*, for his extream Avarice, which made them, notwithstanding his Power and great Conquest curse him in his Life, as soon as dead, pull him from his Hearse, and use his Body with all Shameful Indignities: but the Son was admir'd and belov'd for his own Vertues, his Temperance, Martial Skill, Eloquence, Integrity, Affability and Address, both in giving and receiving Presents without Disdain, and with Respect and Honour. In his Youth his Countenance was extreamly engageing, and prepar'd the liking of his Speech; he was thought to be so like *Alexander*, that some call'd him by that Name. This made *L. Philippus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, in his Pleading for him, say, *You ought not Fathers to be surprix'd, that I being* Philip, *should seem a lover of* Alexander. *Flora*, a Whore of great Fame, us'd to take pleasure in her later time to tell of her Intrigues with *Pompey*; and upon his leaving her, she languish'd and pin'd away till she dy'd; an extraordinary Effect of Love in a Woman of her Profession. The Beauty of the Wife of *Demetrius* (who was his Freeman, and had a peculiar Influence over him) made him treat her with more Neglect and Incivility than his Temper generally allow'd, only to shew, that her Charms had no Power over him. A proof of Sobriety and Temperance in his Food, is the Story of

Pompey *like* Alexander *the Great.*

his Illneſs, when his Phyſician had preſcrib'd him a *Thruſh*; which being only to be got at *Lucullus* his Houſe, *Pompey* order'd them to give him the Meat that was next hand, ſaying, *What, can the Luxury of* Lucullus *only keep* Pompey *alive?*

Serving in the Wars againſt *Cinna*, under his Father, in his early years, he had for his Comrade *Lucius Terentius*; who, corrupted by *Cinna*, deſign'd to murder him in his Bed, but being timely inform'd of the Treachery, he made his Eſcape, ſet a Guard on his Father, and waited the Event; his ſuppos'd Death cauſing a Tumult, he appearing, appeas'd it, and reduc'd the Soldiers to their Obedience with his Prayers and Tears. After his Fathers Death an Action was brought againſt him as his Fathers Heir, for Public Treaſure embezled, which he clear'd himſelf of, by proving it on his Freedman *Alexander*. And then being himſelf after this accus'd of a like Crime, of which when *Antiſtius* abſolv'd him, the Favour was ſo apparent, that the People cry'd out *Io! Thalaſſio!* as they do upon Marriages, intimating, that he ow'd his Acquitting to his match with the Daughter of *Antiſtius*; for, a few days after his Abſolution, he marry'd *Antiſtia*, and ſoon after went to the Camp of *Cinna*, whence he ſecretly withdrew on the Apprehenſions he had of the ill Effect of ſome Accuſations brought againſt him. His ſuddain diſappearance rais'd a Suſpicion that *Cinna* had kill'd him, this gave fire to their former diſcontents, which ended in the Death of *Cinna* by a *Centurian*, that purſu'd him. But as great a Tyrant as *Cinna* was, his Succeſſor *Carbo* was not only more cruel, but more ſenſeleſs. *Pompey* in the mean while liv'd retir'd at *Picenum*, or the *Marches of Ancona*, on his Paternal Eſtate; not meerly for Pleaſure, but to keep up and make uſe of that Intereſt her Father had in all the Circumjacent Cities; whence he rais'd conſiderable Forces againſt *Carbo*, and for *Sylla*'s Party. And aſſuming the Dignity of *Prætor*, erected a Tribunal in the Market-Place of *Auximum* when he was but 25 years old, in which he ſate, and heard Cauſes; and expelling the Faction of *Carbo*, with the ſame Addreſs and Induſtry engag'd the other Cities in his quarrel. Having thus got three Legions into a Body, by ſlow marches he took his Courſe towards *Sylla* every where ſetting the Country againſt *Carbo* and his Party.

*The death of* Cinna.

*Carinna*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus* at once march'd againſt him, but *Pompey* engageing *Brutus*, and killing a memorable *Giant* with his own hands, put them to flight; and the Generals diſagreeing, went off which way they thought fit, ſo that the Cities all round readily ſurrender'd to *Pompey*. *Scipio*

the

the Conſul, after this, coming againſt him, his Soldiers revolted all to *Pompey*, and *Scipio* was forc'd to make his eſcape along with *Carbo*; himſelf afterwards detaching a great Party againſt him, he drew them into Streights, Boggs, &c. and forc'd them all to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Sylla* hearing of all thoſe that were going againſt *Pompey*, he made what haſte he could to ſuſtain him; when *Pompey* heard of his approach, he drew up his Men to receive him as General or Imperator, and ſo went out to meet him; whom when *Sylla* ſaw coming, he alighted from his Horſe, and return'd his Salute of Emperor to *Pompey*, both for the fine Army he had got together, and the brave March he had made. *Sylla* always diſtinguiſh'd him by ſome peculiar Regard, as riſing when he enter'd, and ſtanding bareheaded, and the like; yet theſe ſingular Honours never puft up *Pompey* in the leaſt.

*Sylla* having now got the better of all his Oppoſers, and ſeiz'd on the Government, making himſelf perpetual Dictator, he thought one of the beſt ways of ſecuring himſelf was, to contract an Alliance with *Pompey*: By his Perſuaſions therefore he puts away *Antiſtia*, and marrys *Æmilia*, *Sylla*'s Daughter-in-Law by his Wife *Metella*, which was a Match as unfortunate as unjuſt, ſhe ſoon dying in Childbed, and *Antiſtia*'s Mother making away with her ſelf.

In the mean while News came to *Rome*, that *Perpenna* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Sicily*; that *Carbo* rid at Sea with a good Fleet, and that *Domitius* was fallen into *Africa*, and many of the exil'd Nobles, who had fled the Proſcription, daily flock'd into thoſe Parts. So that *Pompey* was ſoon diſpatched into *Sicily* with a ſtrong Army; upon whoſe arrival *Perpenna* flying away, all the Towns were receiv'd to Mercy with a great deal of Humanity by *Pompey*, except the *Mamertines* of *Meſſene*, whoſe Plea and Ancient Priviledges he deny'd; and he behav'd himſelf with ſome cruelty, to *Carbo*, inſulting over his Misfortunes more than puniſhing his Crime, bringing a Man that had been Conſul to the Bar, formally trying, condemning, and executing him, more inhumanely than he had us'd Q. *Valerius*, a great Philoſopher and Mathematician, commanding him to be taken away from him and put to Death, when he had been calmly talking with and making enquiries of him, if we may believe *Oppius* the partial Friend of *Cæſar*. Tho' he lay under a Neceſſity of puniſhing the notorious Enemies of *Sylla* when taken, yet he made not ſo vigorous an Enquiry into thoſe that were hid, and was himſelf inſtrumental in the Eſcape of others. Now came to him *Sylla*'s Commiſſion and the Senates Decree, for his paſſing into *Africa* againſt *Domitius*; ſo leaving his Siſters Husband *Memmius* Governour of *Sicily* with 120 great Ships,

*Is ſent into Sicily againſt Perpenna.*

and 80 Transports, he set sail for *Africa*: He had not been long landed when 7000 of the Enemy revolted to him; upon which *Domitius* drew out his Army in Battel array, and march'd against *Pompey*; but the River betwixt them being rais'd, and a great Storm of Wind forbidding the Engagement, *Domitius* return'd to his Camp; but *Pompey* in spight of the Storm, passing the Torrent, fell on the Enemy, tumultuous, and unprepar'd to receive him, leaving not above 3000 out of 20000; when being by his Army saluted *Imperator*, he refus'd the Title till their Force was entirely reduc'd, and their Camp and Cities in his Power; the Soldiers immediately assault and take Camp, *Domitius* falling in the Fight, and King *Iarbas* taken Prisoner. Whence *Pompey* scouring all *Numidia*, vanquish'd e'ry thing that oppos'd him. He was now but 24 years old when he accomplish'd these great things, fighting these Battels, deciding Controversies betwixt Kings, and compassing all *Africa* in the space of forty days.

*Domitius vanquish'd by Pompey*

*Overcomes Numidia.*

As soon as he return'd to *Utica*, Letters from *Sylla* came to him to disband his Army, and with one Legion only to return to *Rome*. But it was with a very great struggle and difficulty, that all his Persuasions prevail'd with the Army, which lov'd him extreamly, to suffer him to obey this Order. But having appeas'd the Soldiers and dismiss'd them, he went to *Rome*, and was met by most of the City, and *Sylla* himself, not to discover his Envy, among them, who saluted him by the Name of *Great*; which *Pompey*, to avoid Envy, never writ himself, till after the Spanish Expedition against *Sertorius*, when it was so receiv'd, that it could raise no Odium. Upon this *Pompey* demanded to Tryumph, which *Sylla* oppos'd in vain, tho' he was not yet of Age to sit in the Senate, designing to have his Chariot drawn by four Elephants; but the Gate being not large enough for that, he supply'd their Places by four Horses. *Sylla* envy'd too much the Glory to which *Pompey* had so soon arriv'd, to be ever after so much his Friend, and dying, left him no Legacy, nor made him one of the Guardians of his Sons, as he did the rest of his most intimate Friends; yet *Pompey*, after his Death, by his Interest, procur'd his Body to have an honourable Funeral, and attended his Corps himself when it was oppos'd by most, and the People express'd their Indignation against him.

*Call'd Pompey the great of Sylla.*

*Lepidus* being by the Interest of *Pompey* chosen Consul, on *Syllas* death, arriv'd at the same Tyranny which *Sylla* had possess'd and laid down some time before. But *Pompey* was chosen General against him, and having easily subdu'd most of the *Cisalpine Gauls* without Blows, being oblig'd to besiege *Modena*, soon after took *Brutus*, and not without some Infa-

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my put him to death when he was in his Custody. This *Brutus* was the Father of him who join'd *Cassius* in the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*. *Lepidus* on this Victory of *Pompey* fled from the very Walls of *Rome*, into *Sardinia*, where he soon dy'd, by breaking his Heart on a Letter he receiv'd, that his Wife had play'd the Whore.

About this time *Sertorius* made a great noise in *Spain*, having got the Remains of the *Marian* Faction together, and by the Assistance of the *Barbarians*, and his own wonderful Conduct, baffled several of the *Roman* Generals sent against him; and now held old *Matellus* to it by his Ambuscades and sudden Onsets, with which he was not acquainted. Hither *Pompey* is sent, and met with various Successes, sometimes getting a doubtful Battel, never a clear Victory, of *Sertorius*, but at last left a Spanish Province to him; but *Sertorius* being murder'd by his own Followers, he soon put an End to that War, by routing and taking *Perpenna*, and the Submission of all the *Lusitanians*, and other *Barbarians*, who gave over the War on the Death of *Sertorius*.

The Spanish War being thus ended, he led his Army into *Italy* to finish the Servile War; and tho' *Crassus* made what dispatch he could, yet he came time enough, by seizing some Thousands of those who escap'd their last Overthrow, to come in for a share in the Reputation of the Victory which *Crassus* claim'd to himself. For this War he had his Triumph, and was chosen Consul with *Crassus* (who gain'd the Consulship by *Pompey*'s Interest) and restor'd the Tribunes of the People, abrogated by *Sylla*. This Consulship pass'd without any thing done, by reason of the perpetual disagreement of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who by the Vision of *Gaius Aurelius* were reconcil'd, and laid down their Government, *Crassus* returning to the Bar, *Pompey* quitting it, and living in state, and growing hard of Access, to heighten his Esteem.

*Comes out of Spain with his Army into Italy.*

The Power of the *Pyrates* was extreamly encreas'd, for they with a thousand Vessels had taken 500 Cities, committed Sacrilege against the Holy Temples, enriching themselves with the Riches of the Gods; at *Claros*, *Drayme*, and *Samothrace*, the Temple of *Tellus* in *Hermione*; of *Æsculapius* in *Epidamnum*; of *Neptune* in the *Isthmus*, *Tænarus*, and *Calaura*; of *Apollo* in *Actium* and the *Leucades*; of *Juno* in *Samos*, *Argos*, and *Leucania*. Nay, they ventur'd on Shore, plunder'd the Maritime Villages, seiz'd the *Roman* Pretors *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, and the Daughter of *Antonius*, a Man that had triumph'd, redeem'd afterwards at an excessive Ransom. And e'ry day, indeed, the Evil grew greater and greater, nothing was safe, and the Seas unpassable, and e'ry place full of new Apprehension of Danger from them. To the cure

of

*The Private War.*

of this Evil, *Pompey* was elected with ſo great a Concourſe, and Applauſe of the People, that a Crow flying over them fell down dead among them. The People gave him a vaſt and Monarchical Power, with 503 Sail of Ships of War, 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe; 24 Senators being choſen his Vice Admirals, he divided all the Seas from the Streights Mouth, into ſo many Parts, and order'd a Squadron to each. He like a good Hunter drew all the Pirates into his Toils, diſperſing and putting them to flight, put an end to their Piracies. In forty days he clear'd the *Tyrrhene*, *Sardinian*, *Corſican*, *African* and *Sicilian* Seas. In the haſte of his Expedition he paſt by many fine Cities without touching, but landed at *Athens*, ſacrific'd, and made a Speech to the People. And going out of the City, he found two *Monoſticks* in his Praiſe on the inſide to this purpoſe; *Thee we ſee, admire, accompany and adore*; and on the other ſide, *As much as you ſee beyond Men, ſo much are you a God.* Thence purſuing the Pirates into *Cilicia*, at *Coraceſium* he gave them a fatal overthrow, forcing them to ſurrender the Cities and Iſlands of which they had gotten Poſſeſſion, and finiſh'd this whole War in three Months time.

Returning therefore to *Rome*, and disbanding his Army, he viſited the Cities for his diverſion. When *Manilius* the Tribune of the People preferr'd a Law, by which he was decreed to have beſides the Provinces he already had, that of *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Capadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Colchis*, the upper *Armenia*, and all the Forces of *Lucullus*, with which he had now almoſt reduc'd *Mithridates*, and *Tigranes*. Tho' he ſeem'd Hypocritically to receive the News of this Law and Decree in his Abſence, yet his Conduct to *Lucullus* diſcover'd the real Sentiments of his Mind. Entering upon the Expedition with 32000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, he march'd againſt *Mithridates*, whom he firſt beſieg'd, and then on his eſcape he purſu'd to *Euphrates*, where engaging him in a ſtormy Night, he vanquiſh'd and put him to Flight; but *Mithridates* paſſing the Springs of that River fled away by *Colchis*. *Pompey* on the other hand march'd directly with a great deal of diſpatch through *Armenia* againſt *Tigranes*; who being brought almoſt to the laſt Extremity by *Lucullus*, and confiding in the Clemency of *Pompey*, came and ſurrender'd himſelf to him, laying his Crown at his Feet, and embracing his Knees; *Pompey* allow'd him what he yet poſſeſs'd, and having given the Kingdom of *Sophene* to his Son, upon his rude Conduct put him in Priſon, and reſerv'd him for his Triumph. Having left *Afranius* to guard *Armenia*, he purſu'd *Mithridates* through the Nations about the Mountain *Caucaſus*, vanquiſhing the *Albanians*, and *Iberians*, kil-

*The Mithridate War is decreed him in his Abſence.*

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ling 9000 of the former, and taking 10000; there making Peace with them he march'd on to *Colchis*, but on their rebelling return'd, fought and vanquish'd them again, killing *Cosis* the Kings Brother with his own hand, 60000 Foot and 2000 Horse falling on the spot; and several Targets and Buskins of the *Amazons* being found in the Spoil, it was believ'd, that the *Amazons* were Auxilaries in this Battel. Then passing on to *Hyrcania*, he was forc'd to turn back by the number of venomous Serpents, that were found in those parts, and so took his course into *Armenia* the *less*: where he enter'd into a League with the Kings of the *Elymæans* and *Medes*, and sent *Afranius* against the King of the *Parthians*, who had made Inroads into the Country of *Gordyone*, and the Subjects of *Tigranes*, who met, fought, beat, and pursu'd him as far as *Arbelitis*. His Continence was such, that he never touch'd any one of he Concubines of *Mithridates*, who fell into his Hands, but sent them all to their Friends and Relations. *Statronice* the favourite Mistress of that Prince, surrender'd her Castle to *Pompey*, and made him many Presents, of which he took none but such as might be worthy the Temples, and adorn his Triumph, returning the rest to her: and the golden Bedsted, Table and Chair of State he gave to the Public Treasury.

*Pompey* had a great Ambition of taking in *Syria*, and of going by *Arabia* to the *Red-Sea*, to extend his Trophies every way to the Ocean that surrounds the Globe; for he was the first *Roman* that spread his Conquest to the *Atlantic*, as he did likewise in *Spain*, and in his pursuit of the *Albanians* almost came to the *Hyrcanian* Sea: and to streighten *Mithridates* by Famine, more than by pursuing him, he forbid on pain of Death, all Merchants and others carrying any Provisions to the *Bosphorus*, where he was again at the head of a great Army. Coming therefore into *Syria* he reduc'd it into a form of a Province, there being no lawful Prince of the Nation to claim the Government. Then subduing *Judea*, he took the King *Aristobulus* Prisoner. He built several Cities, and gave many their Liberty, and adjusted the differences of several others. *Pompey*'s Fame marching before him, the King of *Arabia Petrea* sent to enter into a League with him, tho' till then he had despis'd the Roman Power, but he march'd up to *Petra* to fix him in that Interest of *Rome*, where Letters were brought him of the Death of *Mithridates*, who had Poison'd himself on the Revolt of his Son *Pharnaces*, who had now in Possession his Kingdom for himself and the *Romans*. On this News *Pompey* left *Arabia*, and coming to the River *Amisus* he receiv'd from *Pharnaces* Money, rich Presents, and the Bodies of several Royal Princes.

*Penetrates to* Acalia Petrea.

*The Death of* Mithridates.

ces, particularly that of *Mithridates*; which, without looking on it, he order'd to be carry'd to *Synope*.

Having ſettled the Province, he took his Journey homeward with greater Pomp and Glory than ever; and coming to *Mytelene*, he beſtow'd Liberty on that City at the Mediation of *Theophanes*. Thence he went to *Rhodes*, and gave a Talent a-piece to the Diſputant Sophiſts; then to *Athens*, where he was not only generous to the Philoſophers, but gave Fifty Talents towards the repairing and beautifying the City; but coming into *Italy*, the Reports of his Wives Infidelity were ſo ſtrong, that he ſent her a Bill of Devorce. There were Reports rais'd on his Approach to the City, as if he intended with his Army immediately to ſet up for a Monarchy; to fortify which Jealouſie *Craſſus* remov'd his Family and Effects, as if afraid of Tyranny. But *Pompey*, to obviate and deſtroy all thoſe ſurmizes, as ſoon as he came into *Italy*, having made a ſpeech of Thanks and Praiſe to his Soldiers, and invited them to ſhare in his Triumph, diſpers'd them into ſeveral Cities; ſo paſſing with only his Retinue to *Rome*, he ſoon after had a Triumph for *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Media*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Cilicia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Phœnicia*, *Arabia*, and the *Pirates*. In which Countries there appear'd the taking of no leſs than 1000 Caſtles, 900 City's, 800 Ships of the *Pirates*, and the peopling of 39 Towns, that lay deſolate and waſte. He rais'd the Revenue from 5000 *Miryades* to 8500, brought into the public Treaſury 20000 Talents, beſide Donations to the Soldiers, the leaſt of whom had 1500 *Dorachma*'s, he led in Triumph beſides the Arch-Pirates, the Son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter, *Zoſima* Wife to *Tigranes*, *Ariſtobulus* King of *Judea*; the Siſter of *Mithridates* and her five Sons, and ſeveral *Scythian* Ladies, the Hoſtages of the *Iberians* and *Albanians*, and the King of *Comagena*. This Triumph was over three parts of the World, his firſt was over *Africa*, his ſecond over *Europe*, and third over *Aſia*. So that he did what no body elſe ever did, triumph'd over the whole World.

*He triumphs over* Aſia.

*As over* Europe *and* Aſia *before.*

*Pompey* was now about 40 years old, till when he experienc'd none of the Frowns of Fortune but abundance of her Smiles; but from that time Envy, and his own ill Conduct prevail'd, and brought on him many and great Misfortunes. For his ill Treatment of *Lucullus*, his Quarrels with *Cato* and *Craſſus*, gave *Cæſar* in the mean while the opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the People, and aggrandizing his Power; which when he had ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd, to the Conſulſhip, he reconcil'd *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, by whoſe Intereſt he was with *Bibulus* choſen Conſul. Then to confirm

firm the League, he gave his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey* for his Wife, and he himself marry'd *Calphurnia*, and promoted a Law for the division of Lands; while he obtain'd both the *Gauls* and *Illyria* for his Province with an Army of four Legions.

*Clodius* in the mean while, tho' formerly set up by *Pompey* for his own Ends, now despising him, for his Retirement and luxurious Fondness, grew very troublesome to him, and offer'd him many Insults even to his Face in the *Forum*, which vex'd *Pompey* the more, because the *Senate* seem'd pleas'd at it, as a just Judgment on him for his betraying *Cicero* to him, and escaping once narrowly the Sword of one of *Clodius* his Creatures, he never came more into the *Forum* during his Tribuneship; but staying at home, he consulted his Friends about the repressing his Insolence, and reuniting himself to the *Senate*: And the recalling of *Cicero* being resolved on, he came with *Quintus* into the *Forum* with a strong Hand, and some being kill'd in the Contest, and *Clodius* vanquish'd, he recall'd *Cicero* from Banishment, by whose Interest and Address *Pompey* was soon reconcil'd to the *Senate*; by *Cicero*'s Interest he was soon afterwards made Director or Proveditore of the Corn-Trade, so sending his Friends into several Parts, he himself went to *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, by that means filling the City so full with Corn, that the Plenty spread to all parts of *Italy*.

During these Affairs, *Cæsar* grew every day more powerful, not only by his Success in *Gallia*, but by his Largesses and Bribes to People and Senators and their Wives. Now crossing the Alps to Winter at *Lucca*, was met there by 200 Senators, and a great number of Matrons and other Citizens; all whom when *Cæsar* had fill'd with Presents or Hopes, he enter'd into a nearer Negotiation with *Pompey* and *Crassus*, by which they were to demand the Consulship, and he was to send a number of Soldiers to give their Votes for them, and they were to decree him the Army, and the *Gauls* for five years more. By this means they got the Consulship almost by Force, in spight of the struggle of *Cato*, *Domitius*, and *Marcellus*. Then, by the means of *Trebonius* Tribune of the People, *Gaul* was decreed to *Cæsar*, *Syria* to *Crassus*, with the *Parthian* Expedition, and *Africa*, and both the *Spain*'s to *Pompey*. But while the Rest went to their Provinces, *Pompey* amus'd himself with building his Theatre, and caressing his young Wife; for he lov'd her as vehemently as she did him; or her Love made him pay a Complaisance equal to Fondness. A proof of her's is, that when in a Scuffle in the *Forum*, some of the Blood of the Contenders fell on his Garment, he sent it home to be chang'd for another; she seeing it in the

the Servants Hands bloody, ſwoon'd away and miſcarry'd, being then with-Child, for fear any harm had come to her Husband. But being again with-Child, ſhe brought a Daughter, but dy'd her ſelf, and the Child not long after. This Affinity betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar* being thus broke, and the News of the Death of *Craſſus* arriving, the Bond of Union among them was diſolved, and new Commotions daily expected; and the People wavering in their Affections, now ſide with *Pompey*, and now with *Cæſar*. As the Fame and Reputation of *Cæſar* e'ry day encreas'd, ſo did *Pompey*'s Jealouſie of him augment in proportion.

*He is made* Conſul *alone.*

But Diſtractions encreaſing in the City, *Pompey* is at laſt by the Votes of *Bibulus* and *Cato* himſelf made Sole Conſul, with power to chooſe for *Collegue* whom he thought fit, after the Expiration of two Months. But in this troubled City, to cure which *Pompey* was entruſted with ſo unuſual an Authority, he marry'd *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, Widow to *Publius* the Son of *Craſſus*, who was ſlain by the *Parthians*. But he afterwards apply'd himſelf to regulate Matters, but was too partial to his Father-in-law, when accus'd, getting the Judges to his ſide, and ſo made the Accuſer drop his Suit. He endeavour'd the ſame for *Plancus*, but could not carry his Point; but he with Contempt paſs'd by *Hypſeus* a Man of Conſular Dignity, when he was fallen at his Knees for his Intereſt, which diſcover'd too much Partiality, that got him abundance of Ill-will, and Reflections. But having ſettled the Commonwealth, and choſen his Father-in-law his *Collegue* for the five remaining Months of his Conſulſhip, the *Senate* confirm'd his Provinces for four years longer, and his Armies, and an order to have from the public Treaſury 1000 Talents yearly to pay his Soldiers. The Friends of *Cæſar* thought, that it was but Reaſon that he ſhould have ſome Conſideration of his Services, at leaſt, that he merited to be choſen the ſecond time Conſul; which Motion when *Pompey* ſeem'd to like, yet he eaſily was ſilenc'd and gave it over by what *Cato* urg'd againſt it.

About this time *Pompey* recovering from a Fit of Sickneſs at *Naples*, ſuch an univerſal joy ſpread every where, that in all the Cities of *Italy* nothing was ſeen but Sacrifices, Feaſtings, and Shows, which perhaps was a very great and eſſential cauſe of his after Misfortunes; for being puft up with this ſeeming Love of the People, he deſpis'd *Cæſar*, making no Preparations againſt him, and ſaying, he need only ſtamp with his Foot, the men arm'd would riſe up to him ſufficient to quell all the Attempts of *Cæſar*. But the Fame of *Cæſar* e'ry day encreas'd, and by Bribes and Penſions he had ſecur'd many of the Nobility and People to promote his Election to a

ſecond

ſecond Conſulſhip. *Mark Anthony*, *Curio* (whoſe Debts he he had paid) and ev'n *Paulus* the Conſul, were his Favourers. But when *Marcellus* call'd him a Robber, and declar'd him an Enemy to the State, if he did not immediately lay down his Arms and disband his Soldiers, *Curio*, then Tribune of the People, purpos'd that both he and *Pompey* ſhould quit their Commands, leſt whilſt one only laid down his Authority, the other ſhould uſurp the Tyranny; and the Majority of the People ſided with *Curio*, which made him triumph, and expreſs a publick Joy at his Succeſs. When *Cæſar* had now paſs'd the *Alps*, with ten Legions ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Nobles, that *Marcellus* the Conſul put on Mourning, as in a public Calamity; accompany'd with the Senate, went to *Pompey*, and commanded him to defend his Country, and immediately muſter his Men. At the ſame time Letters came from *Cæſar*, in which he declar'd, That he would leave his Province and Army, and become a private Perſon, if *Pompey* would do the ſame, and ſubmit his Actions and Conduct to the Judgment of the People. But *Lentulus* being in the mean while made Conſul, inveigh'd bitterly againſt *Cæſar*. But *Cicero* endeavour'd to find a middle way, and to reconcile if poſſible the jarring Generals, propoſing, that *Cæſar* ſhould retain two Legions and his Province of *Illyrium*. But *Pompey* being in a rage, *Lentulus* oppoſing it, and *Cato* making a mighty Clamour againſt the Propoſal and *Cæſar* himſelf, *Cicero*'s good Offices fell to the ground ineffectual.

In the midſt of theſe hot and furious Debates *Cæſar* comes to the *Rubicon*, a Rivulet that was the Bounds of his Province, which ſtruck his Enemies and the whole City into a pannick Fear and Confuſion; and *Favonius*, an Affecter to ſeem like *Cato*, cry'd out to *Pompey*, Now ſtamp with your Foot and call forth thoſe Soldiers you promis'd us for our Defence; but *Pompey* took the unſeaſonable Railery with a great deal of Modeſty. In this great diſturbance of *Rome* and *Italy*, e'ry one doubtful of what he ſhould do, now reſolves on Flight, but the Senators go all to their ſeveral Provinces; and *Pompey*, uneaſie and ſorrowful, in the Morning early, attended by the Conſul and a great multitude of the Citizens, left *Rome*, which *Cæſar* ſoon after enter'd with his flying Camp; where receiving all Men with Affability, he only reſented the Conduct of *Metellus*, Tribune of the People, who forbid him taking Money from the Treaſury to pay his Soldiers; which as ſoon as he had got, he immediately went in purſuit of *Pompey*. *Pompey* having Ship'd off moſt of his Men at *Brunduſium*, fortify'd the place, baricading moſt of the Streets, Ditches and Avenues with Palliſado's, and then himſelf and Garriſon embark'd and paſs'd the

*Cæſar paſſes the Rubicon.*

Seas

Pompey flew Italy.

Seas to *Dydracticum*, having ſent his Father-in-law *Scipio* into *Syria* to fit out the Fleet.

But *Cæſar* turn'd his Courſe, and march'd into *Spain* againſt the Army *Pompey* had there, by reducing them, to add therein to his own Forces. In the mean while *Pompey* got vaſt Forces together both by Land and Sea, having 500 Men of War, beſides a greater Number of Galleys, Brigatines, Foiſts and the like; 7000 ſelect Horſe and a very great Army of Foot. To him likewiſe reſorted the Kings and Sovereigns of Nations, and ſo many Senators from *Italy* as were capable of making a Senate. *Cæſar* having in the mean time vanquiſh'd *Pompey*'s Spaniſh Forces, march'd with a great deal of Expedition thro' *Italy* to *Brunduſium*, and thence tranſported his Army; when he ſent to *Pompey* to negotiate an Accommodation, but he rejected the Motion, being poſſeſs'd of all the Ports and Maritime Places, by which he had a plentiful ſupply of Proviſions, and the Enemy diſtreſs'd for want of them. This forc'd *Cæſar* to a Battel, in which he was worſted and fled to his Camp, ſaying, that if the Conquerour had known how to manage a Victory, he had been ruin'd that day. The want of Proviſions obliging him to move his Camp into *Theſſaly*, the *Pompeians* cry'd out, that *Cæſar* fled. And after many Councils of War and Debates, *Pompey* at laſt reſolv'd to purſue him, not with a deſign to engage him, but to ſtarve him out: For there was a talk in the Camp, that as ſoon as *Cæſar* was vanquiſh'd, *Pompey* ſhould be oblig'd to quit his Commands, and live as a private Perſon; which was perhaps the Reaſon that he did not preſs the Enemy ſo cloſe, and with that vigour, that he might have done. Theſe delays gave Riſe to many Accuſations and Clamours againſt him, ſo that he was forc'd to Compliance with thoſe confident Men, who ſure of the Victory, had almoſt quarrel'd about having *Cæſar*'s Place of the *Pontifex Maximus*, as if he had been going to fight *Tigranes* or ſome of the Barbarous Kings, and not *Cæſar*, who had taken 1000 Towns, ſubdu'd 300 Nations, who had kill'd 1000000 of his Enemies on the ſpot, and taken as many Priſoners. But when they came into the Fields of *Pharſalia*, they demanded the Battel with that eagerneſs, that *Pompey* could no longer reſtrain them, and *Labienus*, in the Senate ſummon'd before the Fight, firſt took an Oath not to quit the Battel till he had put the Foe to flight; which, after him, all the reſt took.

Pompey's *Dream.*

That Night *Pompey* dreamt, that he was offering a Sacrifice at the Altar of *Venus the Conquerour*. But when he wak'd, and remember'd that *Cæſar* pretended to fetch his Origin from *Venus*, he was ſomething affected with it. And in the laſt Watch of the Night there was a bright Fire obſerv'd

to

to riſe from *Cæſar*'s Camp, and paſs to *Pompey*'s; which *Cæſar* himſelf reports that he ſaw. The next day the Armies being in array, *Cæſar* order'd his Men not to throw their Piles at a diſtance, but to come cloſe to the Enemy, and dart them up in their Faces, and likewiſe to direct all their Blows that way, telling them, that the young *Roman* Beaux, whom they engag'd, would never ſtand the Loſs of their Beauties. *Pompey* obſerving *Cæſar*'s Men fix'd ſilently in their Ranks expecting the Onſet, and his own all in a Hurry and Confuſion, he by order ſtopt their Courrier, and commanded them to expect the Attack, which was a baulk to their Fire, and in ſome meaſure prepar'd the way for their Overthrow. *Cæſar* had no more, than 22000 Men, *Pompey* above twice that number. The Signal of Battel being given, *Craſtinus* began the Onſet on *Cæſar*'s ſide, having before prophecy'd Victory to his General, and with a Select Party made ſuch a Penetration in the Foe, that had he not been kill'd, *Pompey*'s Cauſe had been in danger; but after his Death the Battel for a while ſeem'd doubtful: But *Cæſar*'s Orders being now put in Execution as to wounding them in the Face, they ſoon gave ground, turn'd their Backs, and fled. *Pompey* being ſtruck with Amazement, to ſee his Men fly, ſighing to himſelf, ſilently retir'd to his Camp, into which when the Enemy preſt, with his own Men he cry'd out, *What! into the Camp too!* and ſo diguiſing himſelf, with a few in his Company he fled to *Lariſſa*; whence in a little Boat putting to Sea, he was taken into a Veſſel of Burthen, and ſail'd to *Mytelene* to take with him *Cornelia* his Wife, and his infant Son. Several pathetick Expoſtulations having on their meeting been mutually utter'd, they ſail'd away to *Attalia*, a City of *Pamphylia*. Thither many Senators and Soldiers, as well as ſome Ships, coming to him, on a mature Debate it was reſolv'd, that he ſhould for a while retire to *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, whoſe Father he had oblig'd. Sailing therefore from *Cyprus* to the Ægyptian Coaſt, he underſtood that *Ptolomy* was at War with his Siſter about *Peluſium*, when directing his Courſe that way, and ſending a Meſſenger to him, having caſt Anchor, he waited an Anſwer. The Courtiers that govern'd the King having conſulted the Matter, particularly *Photinus*, *Theodatus*, and *Achillas*, it was by *Theodatus* Advice thought moſt politic to kill *Pompey*, by that means to ingratiate themſelves with *Cæſar*. *Achillas* is therefore order'd to put this Villanous Deed in Execution. He takes with him *Septimius*, who had formerly been a Tribune under *Pompey*, and one *Salvius*, who had been a Centurion. Then entring a little Boat, they put off to the Ship, and *Septimius* in *Latin* ſaluted *Pompey* by the Title of *Imperator*; and *Achillas* did the

Pompey vanquiſh'd.

same in *Greek*, When they had desir'd *Pompey* to come into their Boat, the Shallows being thereabout, he perceiv'd the Shoar fill'd with the Kings Soldiers and Sailors; so tenderly embracing his Wife at parting, he went with them, taking only his Freedman *Philip* with him. Coming now near the Shoar, *Septimius* stabb'd him behind, when *Achillas* and *Salvius* drew their Swords, and having given him many Wounds, cut off his Head, and threw his Body on the Shoar; his Servant *Philip* wrapping it in his own Shirt, heaping some chance Wood together, with the help of an old Soldier, that had long fought under *Pompey*, they burn'd his Body, and perform'd the Funeral Rites. *Pompey* was Fifty-nine years old the very day before his Murther. When the Head was presented to *Cæsar* he turn'd away his Face and wept, and punish'd those Murderers that came to his Hands, his Reliquies were sent to *Cornelia*, and interr'd in his *Villa* near the City of *Alba*.

*Pompey's Death.*

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# The LIFE of *ALEXANDER* the GREAT.

*ALexander* was by his Father *Philips* side descended from *Hercules*, by his Mother *Olimpias*, from *Æacus*. The Night before *Olympias* was marry'd, she dreamt that a Thunderbolt fell on her Belly, which kindled a great flame, and that disperfing it self a great way about, in a while expir'd, and went out. *Philip*, a little after Marriage, dreamt that he seal'd up his Wives Womb with the figure of a Lion: The Diviners from this Dream concluded that she was with Child, since we use not to seal up an empty thing; but that she should bring forth a Child that should have the Courage and Nature of a Lion. But this *Philip* some time after, had (thro' a Chink of a Door) observ'd a Dragon or Serpent with her in the Night: He grew much more cold in his Affection and Familiarity with her, suspecting that either she was an Enchantress, or that some God or other had an Affair with her. She was deliver'd of *Alexander* on the 6th of *June*, on the very day of the burning of the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. His Stature was Noble, his Head inclin'd a little to the left side,

*His Origin.*

ſide, and his Face was fair, mix'd with an agreeable Vermilion. From his Breath and Pores fell ſuch Perfumes, that ſweeten'd his under Garments. This proceeding from the Hot Temperament of his Body, it is probable, that his Drinking and his Choleric Temper flow'd from the ſame Cauſe.

*Perfumes proceeded from the Body of Alexander.*

He was in his Childhood extreamly temperate in his Pleaſures, always diſcovering his Greatneſs of Mind; And being ask'd whether he could run in the *Olimpic* Games, becauſe he was ſwift of Foot, *Yes*, reply'd he, *if I had Kings to run with.* He, while yet he was very young, entertain'd the *Perſian* Ambaſſadours, and ſtruck them with ſurprize at the Nobleneſs of his Temper. He ask'd them no childiſh or trifling Queſtions, but of the length of the Ways, the Paſſages into *Aſia*, the Power and Forces of their King, and his Conduct to his Enemies. His Fathers Victories gave him no Joy but Pain, making him cry out, That he would leave him nothing to Conquer, or Brave Actions to do. About this time *Bucephalus* was brought to *Philip* to be ſold for 13 Talents; but he prov'd ſo vicious and unmanageable, that the King was ſending him away. *Alexander* ſeeming concern'd to loſe the Horſe by the Fear or Ignorance of thoſe that try'd him, expreſs'd his Reſentment, till taken notice of by his Father *Philip*; who asking him what he would forfeit if he made not good his Boaſt, he reply'd, the Price of the Horſe: Taking therefore the Bridle, he ſet his Face to the Sun, that his own ſhadow ſhould not fright him as before, and ambling him firſt, and then letting looſe the Reins, and ſpurring him on, he made him bear him for his Rider: But when he came to light, he was receiv'd with mighty Acclamations, and his Father kiſſing him with Tears in his Eyes, ſaid, *Macedon, my Son, is not capable of containing thee, acquire a larger Kingdom equal to the Vaſtneſs of thy Soul.* *Philip* afterwards obſerving that Perſuaſion would do more with him than Force, would not truſt him wholly to his Muſic-Maſters and Teachers of the Superficial and Vulgar Sciences, but committed his Education to *Ariſtotle*, to be inſtructed in Politicks and in Philoſophy; In which and in Phyſic he made ſuch a Progreſs, that he would often preſcribe to his Friends and relieve them from their Illneſs. He was a Lover of all ſorts of Learning, and laid *Homer's Iliads*, corrected by *Ariſtotle*, always under his Head with his Dagger.

*Philip* making War againſt the *Byzantines*, left the Government of *Macedon* to *Alexander*, who was then not above 16 years old, in which time he reduced the rebelling *Maderans*; taking their chief City, he peopled it with various Nations, and call'd it *Alexandrople*. At the Battel of *Cheronæa*, when *Philip* fought againſt the *Grecians*, *Alexander* gave the firſt

Onset on the *sacred Band* of the *Thebans*. Pleas'd with this Bravery of his Son, *Philip* was not dissatisfy'd to hear his Subjects call *Alexander* the King, and him only the General. *Philip* being afterwards misled by *Cleopatra*, a young Wife that he marry'd, great distractions arose in the Family, and he had like to have kill'd his Son in a Quarrel in behalf of *Attalus*, the Uncle of *Cleopatra*, but by Rage or Drink overcome, he fell before he reach'd him, which made *Alexander* too reproachfully insult him in Words; but he and his Mother *Olympias* the next day left the Court, and placing her in *Epirus*, he went to *Illyria*. Not long after *Pausanias*, a handsom Youth, being abus'd by *Philip*, in revenge of the Affront kill'd the King, and *Alexander* came to the Crown at 20 years of Age. And some persuading him to use Lenity to the revolting *Barbarians*, and by Mildness and Complaisance to bring them to their Duty, he reply'd, That nothing but Resolution and Courage against them would save him from the Contempt of others: So raising an Army, he made an Inroad, penetrated into their Country, as far as the River *Ister*, where he put to flight *Syrmius* King of the *Triballians*. From thence marching against the *Thebans*, upon their Refusal of Accommodation, he storm'd the Town, put 6000 to the Sword, and sold 30000 for Slaves, sparing only a few who had been kind to the *Macedonians*, or who had oppos'd this their last Effort for Liberty, and the House of *Pindar* the Poet.

*Takes and destroys* Thebes, *spares the House of the Poet* Pindar.

A little after this, when the Greeks were assembled in the *Isthmus*, they chose *Alexander* for their General against the *Persians*. Whilst *Alexander* was here, many Philosphers repair'd to him, but *Diogenes* never came near him, or stirr'd out of the Suburbs of *Corinth*, where he then liv'd, and where *Alexander* found him basking in the Sun, where *Alexander* ask'd him in a civil manner if he could do any thing to serve him? Only this, reply'd *Diogenes*, stand from betwixt me and the Sun. Pleas'd with the Constancy of the Man, as he went away, said he, *If I were not* Alexander, *I should desire to be* Diogenes. He went then to *Delphos*, to enquire of the Oracle about the success of his Expedition, but when he came, it being an unlucky day, the Priestess refus'd to give the Oracle; yet when *Alexander* seiz'd her, and would force her to the Office, she cry'd out, *Thou art, my Son, invincible.* Taking hold of those Words, *I have not any need* (said he) *of any further Oracle*: and so return'd to his Camp, where his Army consisted of 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horse. Nor did he pass the *Hellespont* till he had given away all his own Lands, on which when *Perdiccas* had ask'd him what he would do himself, he reply'd, *That he would live on the Hopes of those he should*

*ſhould Conquer abroad.* Perdiccas then told him, he muſt refuſe his Gift, and deſire only to ſhare his Hopes abroad, in which many others follow'd their Example.

Having paſt the *Helleſpont*, he went to *Troy*, and there ſacrific'd to the Heroes there bury'd, anointing the Tomb of *Achillas*, and pouring Libation on it, ſaid, *How happy wert thou* Achillas, *who alive hadſt ſo faithful a Friend as* Patroclus; *and dead, ſuch a Poet as* Homer *to ſing thy Deeds!* The Generals of *Darius* in the mean while having got together numerous Forces, were making haſte to paſs the *Granicus* and come to him, but he immediately marches to the Banks of the ſame River, and his Horſe paſſing it by force, maintain'd a deſperate Fight till the Foot got over the River, *Rhæſaces* and *Spithridates*, two *Perſian* Commanders, falling on *Alexander* at once, (for *Alexander* was remarkable for his Buckler, and Plume of fine white Feathers on his Helmet) he broke his Javelin on the Breaſt of *Rhæſaces*, and taking his Sword whilſt he was engag'd, *Spithridates* with his Battel-ax cuts off a piece of his Creſt, and reaches even his Hair; but as he was repeating the Blow, *Clitas* run him through with his Spear. The *Phalana* now falling on the *Perſian* Foot, they ſtood not the ſhock, but the whole Army then gave way, and *Alexander* was Victor, having ſlain 20000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe of the *Barbarians*, with the loſs only of 34, of which nine were Foot. After this Victory, *Sardis* and many other Cities ſurrenderd to him, and *Halicarnaſſius* and *Miletum* he took by force. And determining, after ſome debate in himſelf, to take in the Maritime Countries, before he attack'd *Darius*, he reduc'd *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*, and paſſing his Army with great Expedition along the Sea-Coaſts of *Pamphilia*, he ſubdu'd the *Piſidians* and *Phrygians*, at whoſe chief City *Gordium* (the ancient Seat of *Midas*) he cut the Gordian Knot, and thence advanc'd into *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia* reducing them both to his Obedience.

*Paſſes the* Granicus,

*And gains the Victory.*

*Darius* now having gotten an Army of above 600000 Men together, grew confident of Succeſs, and march'd towards *Suſa*: But *Alexander* lay at the ſame time deſperately ill of a Sickneſs, got by his bathing himſelf in the cold Waters of the River *Cydnus* in the heat of the Summer, which Diſtemper was ſo extream, that all deſpair'd of his Life except his Phyſician *Philip*, who aſſur'd him of Recovery; ſo that when *Alexander* had receiv'd a Letter from *Parmenia*, to bid him beware of *Philip*, as highly brib'd by *Darius* to deſtroy him, he with undaunted Courage drank the Potion given him by *Philip*, and at the ſame time deliver'd the Letter which accus'd him of Treaſon. He was not a little ſurpriz'd and concern'd at the Contents, yet aſſuring the King of his

Innocence, perſuaded him to be of good Heart for he ſhould ſoon be well; and tho' the Operation of the Potion put the King almoſt into the Agonies of Death, yet its Efficacy was ſo great, that it reſtor'd him to an immediate and perfect Health.

Darius *beaten.*

*Darius* then coming down, *Alexander* made up to him, and after a bloody Battel, in which 100000 *Perſians* fell, *Alexander* won the day, tho' he was wounded in the Thigh and took the Camp and Tents, and Baggage of *Darius*, he himſelf narrowly eſcaping by flight; but his Mother, Wife, and Daughters, with all his Gold and precious Jewels, fell into his Hands. Who being ſtruck with Grief and Complaints on ſeeing the Chariot and Bow of *Darius*, as if he were dead, *Alexander* pitying their Condition, ſent *Læonatus* to inform them, that he was yet alive, and that they need not apprehend any ill uſage from him, but ſhould find themſelves as well provided for as in the full Glory of *Darius*. This he made good by his Actions, for they neither ſuffer'd nor heard any thing indecent, but liv'd as ſecure and retir'd as if in a holy Temple, or the Apartments of the Virgins. *Alexander* thinking it greater to govern himſelf, than conquer his Enemy, touch'd none of the *Perſian* Captives, in jeſt calling them *Eye-ſores*. He was no leſs temperate in Food, than Wine, tho' he was thought to be a lover of the later, becauſe he took a pleaſure to talk and relate Stories over his Glaſs, which wore the Hours away, and ſpun out the Converſation to a greater length than ordinary.

Having therefore divided the Spoil of *Darius*, he apply'd himſelf to get the Dominion of the Sea, and having conquer'd *Cyprus*, he ſubdu'd all *Phænicia*, except *Tyre*, which he beſieg'd ſeven months with all the Warlike Engines, 100 Ships, and at laſt, after many Skirmiſhes, took the Town. And having now conquer'd all *Ægypt*, he deſign'd to proceed to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; which, tho' ſituate in a vaſt ſolitude, yet he paſt all the difficulties, and entring the Temple, and ſaluting the Prieſt, he reply'd, *O Son of Jove! Health to thee*; which flatter'd his deſires in ſuch a manner, that from that time he grew more haughty and proud to the *Barbarians*, but not to the *Grecians*, being willing to have them think that he had ſomething of Divinity in him, not that he believ'd ſo himſelf, for being wounded in a Siege, he ſaid, This is meer Humane Blood that comes from me, not *Ichor*, which the Gods ſhed. Having built *Alexandria* in the Iſland *Phares* in *Ægypt*, he return'd into *Phænicia*, where great Sacrifices were made, and great Feſtivals kept, with Tragedies, Dances, and other Exerciſes; about which time *Darius* ſent to him and his Friend, to intercede with him to ac-

accept 10000 Talents more than he had taken, all the Countries of this side *Euphrates*, and one of his Daughters in Marriage, to put an end to the War, and come to an amicable Agreement with him. *Parmenio* told him, that were he *Alexander*, he would accept the Proposal: So would I, said he, were I *Parmenio*. But to the Ambassadours he gave this Answer, That he advis'd *Darius* to come and surrender himself to him, and he would treat him with all imaginable Civility and Humanity; and that, if he did not, he was resolv'd immediately to march towards him. *Statira*, the Wife of *Darius*, now dy'd, and was magnificently bury'd by *Alexander*. Then having subdu'd all the Countries within *Euphrates*, he march'd directly against *Darius*, who was now coming down upon him with a Million of Men. The Armies being in Array, the *Bactrian* Horse had almost repuls'd the *Macedonians* under *Parmenio*, but *Alexander* having pray'd to *Jove* for Victory, and an Eagle flying from over his Head to the Enemies Camp, he fell on the *Persians*, who scarce stood the first shock, but gave way till *Alexander* drove them ev'n to the very sight of *Darius*, whom he saw on his lofty Chariot, tall in his Stature, beautiful in his Countenance, and regal in his Aspect, sate aloft in his golden Seat. This fir'd *Alexander*, and made him with his Sword endeavour to force his way, but he was so surrounded with dead Bodies, and Men fighting about him, that the Chariot being unable to move, he got on a Mare that had newly Foal'd, and made his Escape; which gave a compleat Victory to *Alexander*, and put a period to the *Persian* Empire, and made *Alexander* King of *Asia*. Having after this taken *Babylon* and *Susa*, he got in the Plunder inexpressible Wealth both in Money and Goods. Passing thence into *Persia*, he got not much less Riches than in the other places, loading 10000 Mules, 5000 Camels with the Spoils. And here he took up his Winter Quarters for some Months, and feasting his Officers in the gilded Palace of *Xerxes*, he said, This was the End and Reward of all his Toils, to revel in the magnificent Palace of the proud *Xerxes*. There was at this Feast *Thais* a Courtesan of *Athens*, a Woman most beautiful in her Person, who threw out these Words to the King, *Alas! I should be the most fortunate of all the Women of* Greece, *could I but dare to set fire to this* Palace *of* Xerxes, *who formerly burnt down and destroy'd all my* Athens; the King consenting with her, taking a Flambeau, set the Palace on fire, and all the Company assisted the Conflagration.

*Beats* Darius *again.*

*Burns* Persepolis *by the Instigation of* Thais.

*Alexander* was extreamly munificent and generous, and preſerv'd a ſort of Grandeur in yielding, of which he gave a thouſand Teſtimonies, always being more diſpleas'd with thoſe who refus'd his Gifts, than thoſe who ſought them. In the midſt of the Luxury of his Followers he kept up his Hunting and Exerciſe, where he kill'd a Lion. When he ſate in Judgment in Criminal Matters, he always ſlip'd one day, to hear what would be ſaid for the Accuſed.

About this time he was inform'd, that *Darius* had got together a third Army: He took long and fatiguing Marches, going 412 miles in eleven days; when all being near parch'd with Thirſt, a common Soldier gave *Alexander* ſome Water in a Helmet to drink, but he looking round, and ſeeing them all ready to dye with Thirſt, return'd the Water untouch'd, ſaying, *He would not drink while ſo many wanted Water*; which ſo pleas'd the Soldiers, that with one Voice they cry'd, They would follow ſuch a Prince wherever he would lead them. Soon after coming up with the Camp of *Darius*, the *Perſians* no ſooner ſaw the *Macedonians*, but fled; the *Grecians* that purſu'd, ſoon after found *Darius* in a Chariot all over Wounds, and now expiring, which he did as ſoon as he had drank a little Water, ſaying, *That he then moſt felt his Misfortunes ſince he had it not in his power to reward the Service; but* Alexander *will do it, whoſe kindneſs to my Mother and Children I hope the Gods will reward: Tell him*, ſaid he, *in Token of my Acknowledgment, I give him my Right hand, and ſo dy'd.* *Alexander* himſelf ſoon coming up, ſeem'd very much affected with the miſerable Death of ſo great a Man, and put *Preſtus* to a cruel Death, when taken, for the Murder; ſending his Body to his Mother with all the honourable Pomp and Magnificence imaginable.

*The Death of* Darius.

*Darius* being thus overcome, he march'd down with the Flower of his Army into *Hyrcania*, to the *Caſpian* Sea, where *Beucephalus* was taken Priſoner, but reſtor'd on his Threats of ſparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child if they return'd him not, which they immediately did, and ſurrender'd their Cities, yielding him all the Country; notwithſtanding which *Alexander* paid a good Ranſom for him. Thence paſſing into *Parthia*, he began to put on the *Aſiatic* Robes, which he made betwixt the *Macedonians* and the *Perſians*, in hopes to bring the *Macedonians* by degrees to worſhip him, as the *Perſians* did their Kings. After this, he purſu'd the *Scythians* twelve miles into their own Country, for he was always the moſt forward in danger, and never would be repuls'd in what he undertook. He had been in love with *Roxana* ſome time, and marry'd her, which was a ſtrengthning to his Mind, by winning the *Barbarians* both by his Continence in not enjoying the

the Woman he lov'd, till he could lawfully, and by marrying one of their Natives. When he was now going to proceed in the conqueſt of the reſt of *Aſia*, *Philotas*, by his own Folly, and the Accuſations of his Enemies, was with his Father put to Death, on ſuſpicion of a Plot againſt his Life; and *Clitus* ſoon after ſtabb'd by himſelf in his Drink, on a Quarrel that aroſe betwixt them, tho' he had formerly ſav'd his Life at the *Granicus* from the Battel-ax of *Spithridates*. But this Death immediately recounting, ſnatching the Dart out of *Clitus*'s Body, he was going to kill himſelf, but was prevented by his Attendants; yet could not be rid of his Grief for many days till *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher perſuaded him that he could do no *wrong*, ſince his Will was a Law.

*Puts* Philotas *and* Parmenio *to Death.*

*Kills* Clitus.

To free his Soldiers from the Impediment of their Baggage, which muſt clog their marches, being now going on his *Indian* Expedition, he ſet fire firſt to his own and his Friends, and then e'ry one with Alacrity taking only what was neceſſary, ſet fire to theirs with Shouts and Acclamations. He was now grown almoſt inexorable in Puniſhment, putting his Friend *Meander* to Death for quitting a Fortreſs where he had plac'd him in Garriſon, and ſhot *Orſodates* with his own Hand, for deſerting him. He blemiſh'd his Reputation very much, when he caus'd ſeveral of the *Barbarians* to be ſlain, when they march'd out upon a Capitulation. Having vanquiſh'd *Pomy* an *Indian* King, and reſtor'd him to his Crown, added ſeveral Countries to his Dominions. *Pomy* was four cubits and a handful high, and a Prince of great Power and Courage. In this *Indian* Expedition *Bucephalus* dy'd, in Honour of whom he built a City, and call'd it *Bucephalia*, on the River *Hydaſpes*; as he had another in Honour of a Dog that he had a peculiar Love for.

The Soldiers, now weary of theſe ſtrange Expeditions, would not paſs the *Ganges*, where the People were yet more Warlike and Numerous; which gave *Alexander* ſuch a concern, that he kept his Tent ſome time, till his Friends Perſuaſions, and the Soldiers Fears, prevail'd with him to lay aſide his deſign of any farther Progreſs that way. But being deſirous to ſee the Ocean, building and getting Ships together, he fell down the River, conquering the Countries on both ſides as he went; tho' in the Siege of the City of the *Malthans* he was very near being kill'd, having leap'd into the Town with only two more, before his Men could break through and bear him off; being cur'd of his Wound, he proceeded, and ſubdu'd abundance of Towns and Cities. Having ſpent ſeven Months in his Voyage, he came at laſt to the Ocean with his Army, where coming to an Iſland, he went aſhore and ſacrific'd, and begg'd of the Gods, that no Man for the future

*In danger of being kill'd at a Siege.*

ſhould

ſhou'd ever go beyond his Expedition. Then leaving his Fleet to ſail round, he march'd himſelf through Poor and Barren Countries back to *Perſia*, loſing three parts in four of his Men by the Way. After 60 days March, they came into *Gedolia*, where they found great Plenty, and there, by the Kings being honourably receiv'd, Wine and Feaſting ſoon made all paſt Fatigues be forgot, giving himſelf up to Wine and Women. *Nearchus*, who ſail'd with his Fleet, now return'd to him, and gave a Relation of his Voyage; but he ſent him out again on new Diſcoveries. He coming into *Perſia*, gave e'ry one a Crown in Gold, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Kings of that Country. Thence going to *Suſa*, and having 9000 Gueſts, he celebrated the Nuptials of all the *Macedonians*, he marrying *Statira* the Daughter of *Darius*, and diſtributing the *Perſian* Ladies among his Commanders, preſenting each with a gold Goblet, to pay their Oblations to the Gods with. The *Macedonian* Soldiers quarrelling with him for ſending home the ſuperannuated Men, when they were able to do no more for him, and they requiring to be all diſmiſs'd, took *Perſians* to guard him, and would not admit the *Macedonians* near him, which ſtruck them with ſuch ſhame and regret, that after receiving their penance for three days, the King forgave them, and diſmiſſed the worn-out Men, with great Rewards and great Privileges to them and their Children. Then having receiv'd 3000 Players from *Greece*, giving himſelf over to Sports and Spectacles, they were all ſuddenly interrupted by the Death of *Hæpheſtion*, his Grief for which could not be appeas'd till he fled to freſh Wars for a Refuge, and deſtroy'd almoſt all the Nation of the *Coſſeans*, as offering to the Name of *Hæpheſtion*.

Deſigning now for *Babylon*, he is perſuaded not to go thither, by the Prognoſtication of the *Chaldeans*, yet he ventur'd, but grew ſo ſuſpicious and jealous, that he ſcarce confided in the Houſhold-Gods. At laſt he was taken with a Feaver when he was bathing, being therefore carry'd into his Bed-Chamber, and diſcourſing all his great Men about the Government, his Feaver e'ry day encreaſing, he dy'd; but his Body lying ſeveral days in a hot place uncorrupted, takes away the Imputation of Poyſon, which ſome few Authors would perſwade us was given him by the Son of *Antipater*.

The

# The LIFE of JULIUS CÆSAR.

DEsigning to write the Life of *Julius Cæsar*, I think it will not be improper to premise an Account of the Temper and Habit of his Body. His Stature was tall, his Complexion clear, his Body lean, his Eyes black and sprightly, but he was often troubl'd with the Head-Ach; and he had two or three Fits of the Falling Sickness. And being dissatisfy'd with a Baldness on his Head, he apply'd Remedies which supply'd it with Hair. In all his Journeys and Expeditions he always made use of an incredible swiftness; for he went from *Rome* once to the *Rhosne* in eight days. The sprightliness of his Genius was not less, than the quickness of his Motions, having a Name for a sort of Excellence in civil Eloquence; and in pleading Causes, he not only very much ingratiated himself with the People, but was allow'd the second Place: In all his Disputes he discover'd the Eloquence of a Military Man, and the Gravity of a very great Orator. His Commentaries of the *Gallic* War he wrote with such Elegance, that no Man ever after him durst venture to carry them on. He was the first that made a Funeral Oration on his Wife, and made another in praise of his Aunt, the Wife of *Marius*; and about that time produc'd the Statutes of *Marius* which had been hid and never seen since the Power of *Sylla*. He had us'd himself so much to a dispatch in Business, that he would dictate several Letters to several *Amanuenses* at the same time. His Munificence was so great, that it endear'd him so much to the Soldiers, that they wou'd endure for his sake Hunger, Labour, and even Death it self: As a proof of this, did not many in the Civil War offer themselves Voluntiers under him? And did not many who were taken by *Pompey*'s Men, rather chuse to die then fight against him? Did they not prefer living with him upon Roots to deserting him for better Fare? What need I mention *Scæva* the Centurion, or *Acilius*, in the Sea-fight at *Marseilles*? Being

*His Eloquence.*

*His Munificence.*

ing therefore ſo belov'd by the Majority of the People, it was no wonder that he fixt himſelf in ſuch a Power in the City. He was us'd to ſay, *That he then thought himſelf rich, when he was able to reward Merit:* What Riches he therefore got together, was not out of Avarice, or Self-Intereſt, but that he might be ſerviceable to brave Men. Being once at Supper with a Friend at *Milan*, he by miſtake pour'd in the Ointment inſtead of Oil on the *Aſperagus*, which when others would not touch, *Cæſar* (that his Hoſt might not be out of Countenance) eat of it, as if nothing amiſs had happen'd.

*A noble ſaying of Cæſar.*

Tho' he was of an Amorous Conſtitution, and at times gave himſelf a looſe in the purſuit of Amours, yet could not the Power of *Sylla* prevail with him to put off his Wife *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Cinna*; which was the riſe of the Hatred that *Sylla* bore *Cæſar*, in diſappointing him when he ſtood Candidate for the *Prieſthood:* And now deſigning his Deſtruction, and being diſſuaded from it by his Friends, *You are mad* (ſaid Sylla) *if you do not perceive that there* are many *Marij*. *Cæſar*, on Intelligence of *Sylla*'s deſigns againſt him, retir'd among the *Sabines*, where falling into the hands of *Sylla*'s Soldiers, (as for his Health he chang'd his Quarters) he brib'd them with two Talents to let him go; whence paſſing into *Bithynia* by Sea, he ſtaid ſome time with *Nicomedes*; whence returning, he was taken by the Pirates near the Iſle of *Pharmacuſa*; where while he remain'd a Priſoner for his Ranſom, ſailing once with them, he told them, That he would crucifie them all; which yet he actually in part perform'd. Having paid fifty Talents for his Ranſom, he paſt to *Miletus*, where preparing a Fleet of Ships, he fell upon the Pirates, yet lying at Anchor, took moſt of them, ſeiz'd the Money, and crucify'd the Men.

*He flies from Sylla.*

The Power of *Sylla* being in the mean while declin'd, his Friends addreſs'd him to return to *Rome*, but he went to *Rhodes*, and heard the Rhetorician *Apollonius*, under whom he made ſuch a Progreſs in Eloquence, that he attain'd to the ſecond Place in that Excellence, being content with that, ſince he aim'd more at the firſt place in the State of Arms.

*Studies Eloquence.*

Returning to *Rome*, he carried a Tribuneſhip in the Army againſt *Pompilius*, and made Funeral Orations on his Aunt *Julia*, Wife of *Marius*, whoſe Images he brought out, to the ſatisfaction of the People; and his Wife *Cornelia* being dead, he made an Oration upon her, and then going *Quæſtor* into *Spain*, under *Fotus* the *Prætor*, he made his Son *Quæſtor* when he was himſelf *Prætor*. Being return'd to *Rome*, at the expiration of his Office, he marry'd *Pompeia*, whom he ſoon after divorc'd, on ſuſpicion of her having an Affair with

with P. *Clodius* who was found in her Apartment in Womans Cloaths, in the Night; while the Women were Celebrating the Rites of the *Bona Dea*.

Being afterwards *Ædile*, to oblige the People very much, he preſented them with the Sports of the Gladiators, and Feaſtings, in a Magnificence ſo great, and Expence ſo profuſe, that he ſeem'd quite to have blotted out the Memories of all that went before him. He collected the Statues of *Marius*, which had been by the Power of the oppoſite Faction diſpers'd, and erected them in the Capitol, in the Night-time; which gave a mighty occaſion to the Diſcourſe of the People, who flock'd to ſee ſo bold a Novelty. The great Authority of *Catulus* could do him no prejudice, when he declar'd, that *Cæſar* attempted the Commonwealth not by underhand doings, but openly and barefac'd; he ſo handſomly clear'd himſelf of all thoſe Imputations, that the People grew more fond of him than before. Encourag'd by this, he ventur'd to ſtand Canditate for the *Pontificate* againſt *Catulus*, and *Iſauricus*, not at all deter'd by their Power and Authority in the Senate, and told his Mother on the day of Election, That ſhe ſhould ſee him that day either High-Prieſt or an Exile. And carrying the Election, he became very terrible to the Senate, his Liberality and Profuſion making him govern the motions of the People by his very Nod. This Succeſs made the contrary Party blame *Cicero* for loſing the Advantage the Conſpiracy of *Cataline* had given them over him; for when *Cicero* preſs'd the extreameſt Severity againſt the Conſpirators that were in Cuſtody, *Cæſar* made a long Harangue, to prove, that a Confiſcation of their Goods, and a Confinement of their Perſons to any Town the Conſul ſhould name, till *Cataline* was beaten, (when they might have a fair Tryal) was all that in reaſon they could require. And ſuch was the force of his Eloquence, that he had carry'd his point, and brought over the Houſe to his Opinion, had not *Cato* ſtood up with *Catulus*, and inſinuated ſome ſuſpicions of *Cæſar* himſelf: So the Criminals were given up to Execution.

*His Ædileſhip.*

The Common People were ſo very fond of him, that he being gone into the Senate to clear himſelf of ſome Imputations, and ſtaying longer there than was expected by them, they came in a body, and demanded him of the Senate. After which being made *Prætor*, his Office paſt over with nothing remarkable but the Affair of *Clodius*, and *Pompeia*, *Cæſar*'s Wife, mention'd already. His Prætorſhip being out, he obtain'd the Province of *Spain*, but was ſtopt by his Creditors, he having run 1300 Talents in debt before he came

*Repudiates Pompeia.*

came to any public Office: But *Crassus*, who wanted warmth to cope with *Pompey*, was bound for 830 Talents due to the most troublesom; and he went to his Province. As soon as he arriv'd he was very active, vanquishing the *Callæci* and *Lusitani* as far as the great Ocean, subduing those Nations who were never before subject to the *Romans*. His Valour and Conduct made him leave his Province with a very fair and clear Reputation, being rich himself, and having likewise enrich'd his Soldiers, for which they saluted him *Emperor*. And returning to the City, he had obtain'd a Triumph, but he let his Demands fall, that he might be present to ask the Consulship, he coming home just on the day of Election, so he is chosen with *Bibulus*; and having reconcil'd *Crassus* and *Pompey*, and so fortified his Interest by them, he promoted the *Agrarian* Law; which when his Colleague *Bibulus* oppos'd, he was driven out of the *Forum* by force of Arms. The firmer to secure *Pompey*, he marry'd his Daughter *Julia* to him, taking her from *Servilius Cæpio*, to whom she had been contracted; and he marry'd *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*. After the Marriage, *Pompey* going on in promoting the Law, and filling the *Forum* with arm'd Men, secur'd the People their new Laws, and got *Cæsar* both the *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine Gauls*, and *Illyria*, for his Provinces.

*He is made Consul.*

His Consulship being over, he went into his Province, to command there five Years; which being afterwards prolong'd to five Years more, nine of 'em he spent in mighty Conquests, subduing all *France* to the Power of the *Romans*, from the *Alps*, the *Pyreneæ*, and the Ocean, to the *Rhine*, imposing yearly Tributes on all; and passing that River, gave many Overthrows to the *German* Nations: He pass'd into *Britain*, and brought thence (if not much Wealth, yet) the Glory of having discover'd a new World, and first setting his Foot upon it in an hostile and victorious manner. He conquer'd in *Gaul* above 800 Towns, and 300 Nations; and first ventur'd into the *Atlantic* Sea. Tho' his Dangers and Actions were every where very wonderful, yet I cannot omit those at the City of *Alexia*, into which City *Vercingetorix* their Leader, and the remains of the beaten *Ædui* and *Averni* retir'd; and *Cæsar* laid Siege to the Town, which seem'd by the height of the Walls and multiplicity of the Garrison impregnable; where being inform'd that the choicest Men of all *Gaul*, to the number of 300000, were coming to the relief of *Alexia*, and there being 170000 in the Town, he built two Walls or Ramparts, one against the Town, the other against the new Supplies that were coming to its relief: He went and fought, dispers't and

*His Wars in* Gaul.

and destroy'd their Army, without the Garrisons knowing any thing of the matter; nay, the *Roman Guards* next the Town were ignorant of it till all was over, and the Trophies were bringing into the Camp. The Terror and Fame of his Name by this Action was so great, that the Town immediately surrender'd, with their King or Leader *Vercingetorix*.

*Gaul* being thus settled in Peace, *Cæsar* came towards the *Rubicon*, with only a small part of his Army, to be near his Friends, if they should stand in need of his assistance. The Contest arising between him and *Pompey* to a great height, *Cæsar* proffer'd to lay down his Arms, and become a private Man, provided *Pompey* would do the same, since it seem'd no fair (but a very partial) Conduct, to allow *Pompey* an Army, when at the same time they would deprive *Cæsar* of his. *Anthony* and *Curio*, two of the most considerable Tribunes of the People, being disgracefully driven out of *Rome*, fled to *Cæsar*, who then thought it time to put his Designs in execution; so passing the *Rubicon*, he march'd directly to *Rome*. At *Rome*, as in all such Conflicts, they fluctuated a great while how to determine till the News of *Cæsar*'s approach; *Pompey* summoning the Senators to attend him, left the City. *Cæsar* having taken *Corfinium*, resolv'd to pursue *Pompey*; but he coming to *Brundusium*, pass'd with his Army to *Dyrrhachium*, with the Consuls: So *Cæsar* going to *Rome*, in sixty days subdued all *Italy*. He then propos'd to the Senators to send Ambassadors to *Pompey*, to treat of a Peace; but none undertaking that, he march'd himself into *Spain*, against *Varro* and *Aphranius*, and in spight of the Fatigues he had undergone thro' long Marches, put no stop to the Expedition, but vanquishing the *Pompeian* Generals, and receiving their Army into his hands, he got all the Province; whence returning to *Rome*, he pass'd to *Brundusium*, and thence, with part of his Army, was transported to *Macedon*, where encamping near *Pompey*'s Army, his Men were so streightned, that they fed on certain Roots mix'd with Milk, and frequently made their Bread of the same.

*The Civil War.*

*Conquers Varro, &c. in Spain.*

Skirmishes daily happen'd, in which *Cæsar* always prov'd Victor, except one day, when he had like to have lost his whole Army; for while he was bringing Relief to his Men, he very narrowly escap'd being taken: But returning into his Camp, *This Day* (said he) *had finish'd the War, had but the* Pompeians *known how to conquer.*

Hence he march'd into *Macedonia*, to fall on *Scipio*, or by that means to bring *Pompey* to a decisive Battel; thence passing into *Thessaly*, he takes *Gomphi*, where he found Provisions

visions enough and Physick for his Army; hence marching to *Pharsalia*, he was follow'd by *Pompey*, and pitch'd his Tents not far from him. *Pompey*'s Horse were near six times as numerous as those of *Cæsar*, and the Foot more than double the number: But *Pompey* was of opinion, that the Enemy ought rather to be overcome by Delay than Fighting, which made him put off the Battel. This rais'd such Clamours against his Conduct, that (provok'd by 'em) he at last consented to the Engagement.

*Battel of* Pharsalia.

*Cæsar* being inform'd by his Spies, that the Enemy were coming down in Battalia, with a great deal of Joy and Satisfaction drew out his Men, ordering them to make all their Blows at the Faces of the *Pompeians*, and no where else, because an Army of young Beaux were more afraid of such Wounds than any other. *Cæsar*'s Soldiers observing his Orders, soon put the Enemy to flight; and those behind being put into confusion by those that fled, expos'd them to a very great slaughter.

Pompeys *Death.*

*Pompey* finding his Army flying, full of Grief, he retir'd unto his Tent; whither the Enemy pursuing him, he put off his Generals Robe, and fled to *Ptolomy*, where, by the Treachery of *Achillas* and *Photinus*, he was murder'd.

*Cæsar*, now possess'd of his Camp, to stop the Cruelty of the Soldiers, cried out to 'em, *Remember the Enemy are your fellow-Citizens*; by which he put an end to the slaughter. In his pursuit of *Pompey*, whoever of his Party fell into his hands, he reconcil'd 'em to him by his Bounty and Humanity.

Soon after, he arrives at *Alexandria*, where when *Theodotus* brought him the Head of *Pompey*, he wept, and turn'd away from it. He reconcil'd *Cleopatra* with his Brother *Ptolomy*. Being afterwards inform'd of the Designs of *Achillas* and *Photinus* against his Life, he put the later to Death, but the former escap'd to the Army, and embarrass'd *Cæsar* in a very doubtful War. Coming at last to an Engagement at *Pharos*, *Cæsar* was oblig'd to come to the succour of his Men in a little Boat, and at last oblig'd also to quit that, and swim to his own Army, whom having joyn'd, he soon put the Enemy to flight; when, the King being no where to be found, he establish'd *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, with whom he had a Familiarity of some continuance. But having Intelligence, That *Pharnaces*, the Son of *Mithridates*, had put *Domitius* to flight, subdued *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, and just ready to invade *Armenia*; by very great Marches, with only three Legions, he went to meet him, and falling on the King, almost destroying his Army, he drove him out of the Field. All this he did with such wonderful Celerity,

*He beats* Pharnaces.

that

that writing about it to his Friends at *Rome*, he describ'd his Victory in three words, *Vini, Vidi, Vici*; *I came, I saw, and conquer'd.*

But hearing now that *Cato*, *Afranius*, and *Scipio* had fled to King *Juba* in *Africa*, and had there got another Army together, he in a little time passes with his Men into *Africa*, and having routed *Scipio* at *Thapsus*, and then coming to *Afranius*, takes his very Camp, as he also did that of *Juba*. So that having in one day beaten three Generals, he gain'd three Victorys. Returning therefore to *Rome*, in one year he had four Triumphs, the first for *Gaul*, the second for *Ægypt*, the third for *Pontus*, and the last for *Africa*. *His four Triumphs*

To ingratiate himself with his Soldiers and the People, he gave great Largesses to the former, and Magnificent Shows to the latter, with splendid Entertainments of Feasting, at one Treat having 22000 Tables, and exhibited the Shows of the *Gladiators*, in honour of his Daughter *Julia*, long since dead. Upon numbering of the People, there were but 140000 found remaining out of 320000, so great a Destruction had been caus'd by the Civil War.

Being now made the fourth time Consul, he went into *Spain* against the Sons of *Pompey*; where after variety of Fortune, near *Munda* he totally routed them, the younger making his Escape, and *Didius* bringing the Head of the Elder to *Cæsar*. Over these he had his last Triumph, which much disgusted the *Romans*, since it was not for a Victory gain'd over Strangers, but a *Roman* Citizen of the first Nobility.

The People now tir'd with the Disputes and Wars and Divisions of the great ones, hoping to be deliver'd from these Evils by being under the Government of one, chose *Cæsar* perpetual Dictator, and in his Name the *Temple* of *Clemency* founded. He had the Title of *Emperor*, Father of his Country and many more. He pardon'd his Enemies, exalted some to Offices, set up *Pompey*'s Statutes, and by Largesses of Corn, Feasts, and the like, endeavour'd to bind the Peoples Will to him. When his Friends advis'd him to have a Guard to his Person, he reply'd, *That he had rather dye at once, than live longer in fear of Death.* *He is made perpetual Dictator.*

Observing that by the Ignorance of the Priests, the Calculation of the Year was so irregular, that none of the Festivals were kept in Order, he brought it to a more regular form, making it 365 days, and a Leap-Year once in four. He gave his Name to the Month *Quintilis*, which has ever since been call'd *July*. By depriving *Flavius* and *Marullus* of the Tribuneship, he incur'd a great Odium, as if he affected

a Regal Power, because they took the Crown off his Statue, and committed the Fellow to Prison, who had put it on. He added to this Odium by receiving the Senate sitting, when they came to bring him new Honours. *Antony* made a Tryal in the Feasts of the *Lupercalia* to see, how the People wou'd relish his assuming the Title of King; but finding that they gave no Applause to the Offer, he put it from him three times, and then sent it to the *Capitol*. The People calling *Marullus* and *Flavius*, *Brutus*'s, *Cæsar* said, that they were all *Bruti* and *Cumæi* (Brutes and Sots.) Papers were likewise scatter'd about in the Night in the Tribunal of *Brutus*, inscrib'd, *Why sleepest thou* Brutus? and *thou art not* Brutus. Tho' there were great Prodigies forerun this Conspiracy, yet *Cæsar* was affected with nothing but the Fears of *Calphurnia*, who never being before superstitious, deterr'd him from going that day to the Senate. So that vanquish'd by her Importunity and Prayers, he design'd to adjourn it to another day, but *Brutus*, who came to him just at that time, persuaded him against it, and let him not alone till he had got him into the Senate. Some endeavour'd to discover the Conspiracy to him as he went, but he was too much hemm'd in by the Conspirators to let any Approach him; and that one Paper which he had, he would not vouchsafe to read. When he enter'd the House, the Fathers receiv'd him with all respect, rising from their Seats.

When he had taken his place, *Cymber* approach'd him, to begg for the recalling his Brother from Banishment; pressing him still closer, This is plain force, cry'd *Cæsar*; at which *Casca* stabb'd him, with whom while he struggl'd for his Sword, *Brutus* came up and wounded him in the Thigh. As soon as *Cæsar* saw him, he cry'd out, *And you my Son!* and casting his Garment about his Head, said no more, but fell down, wounded in twenty three places. This being known, a little Tumult arose, but when *Anthony* had read his Will, by which he gave a Legacy to every *Roman* Citizen, the People were rous'd to a perfect Madness, and ran to the Houses of the *Parricides*, and with the Benches and Timber pluck'd from the *Forum*, they made him a Funeral Pile. He was kill'd in the Fifty-sixth year of his Age. None of those, that kill'd him surviv'd him three years, he having out-liv'd *Pompey* but four.

Cæsars *Death.*

The

# The LIFE of PHOCION.

THE Family of *Phocion* is not agreed upon, but the Nobleneſs of his Temper, the Eminence of his Virtue, and the Majeſty of his Manners, are pregnant Arguments of a Noble Birth. He was of that fixt Gravity and Sedateneſs, that he was never ſeen either to Laugh or Weep. He always went bare-foot, except when the Weather and Froſt were ſevere, ſo that the Soldiers us'd to ſay by way of Jeſt among themſelves, *that it was a ſure ſign of a hard Winter when* Phocion *had his Shoes on.* Tho' his Temper was affable and very humane, yet he bore a Countenance ſo ſevere and moroſe, that few made any Addreſſes to him that were Strangers. His Diſcourſe and Public Harangues were very pithy and full of uſeful Remarks, the Senſe cloſe, and worded in little room; like the leſſer Coins, to be valu'd by the intrinſic worth of the Metal, not the Bulk. Walking once behind the Scenes in a thoughtful manner, his Friend ask'd what he was muſing on? *I am ſtriving* (ſaid he) *to file off the Superfluities of my Words, and retrench what I am to ſay to the People.* Hence *Demoſthenes* us'd frequently to ſay, that *Phocion was the Pruning-hook of his Periods.*

*The ſaying of* Demoſthenes *on* Phocion.

His firſt Military Service was under *Chabrias*, and by his Aſſiduity with him, he learn'd the whole Art of War. Nor was he of leſs uſe to his General, for he fir'd him with Heat, when before Action he was too flegmatic and cold; and temper'd his Raſhneſs, and Impetuoſity, when he was once engag'd; which render'd him ſo dear to him, that he not only recommended him to the Choice of the *Athenians*, but always follow'd his Advice in the moſt difficult and arduous Matters. In the Sea-fight at *Naxus*, *Chabrias* putting him againſt the ſtrongeſt of the Enemy, *Phocion* behav'd himſelf ſo well, that the *Athenians* gain'd the Victory, to the Reputation of *Chabrias*, and his own ſo far, that the whole City judg'd him fit, and worthy of the greateſt Commands and Truſt.

After the Death of *Chabrias*, beſides his Warlike Offices, which he willingly undertook, he apply'd himſelf to Civil Affairs, in which, above all other Conſiderations, he always had a peculiar Regard to the Peace and Tranquility of the Commonwealth. Thus he was, by the Peoples free choice, without his ſeeking, and often in his abſence, choſen General five-and-forty times; but never abus'd this Power to the prejudice and injury of thoſe who had treated him with Contumely. He always maintain'd the public Authority, and never avoided any danger for its ſupport. Tho' he was no Hunter after popular Favours, nay, tho' he perpetually oppos'd the Current of the People, yet was he always indulgent and gentle, even ſometimes to the Wicked themſelves; for which being reproach'd by his Friends, he told them, *That the Good ſtood in need of no Advocate.* Thus when he went to ſee *Ariſtogiton* the Sycophant in Priſon, at his deſire, his Friends reprimanded him for viſiting an Ill-Man; *Where*, ſaid he, *ſhould I rather ſee* Ariſtogiton, *than in Priſon?* Among the Iſlands and Cities of the *Alps* he had not leſs Love than Authority, for when he was ſent to them, they met him on the Seas with their Boats, and Crown'd with Chaplets and Flowers, conducted him into their Cities and Houſes; whereas when any other *Athenian* came, they receiv'd him as an Enemy, flying into their Fortificarions with their Wives, Children, and Goods, to avoid their Luſt and Rapine.

*His conſtancy of Action and Conduct.*

About this time *Philip* made a Deſcent into *Eubæa* with an Army from *Macedon*; the *Eretrians* ſending to demand help of the *Athenians*, obtain'd *Phocion* with a ſmall Body of Men. As ſoon as he arriv'd at *Eretria*, he made a diligent enquiry into all Affairs, and fortify'd his Camp on a ſmall and advantageous Eminence. But being longer than ordinary in the Sacrifice before Battel, *Plutarch*, General of the *Eretrians*, taking his delay for fear or want of Courage, ſallied upon the *Macedonians*; but meeting with ſucceſs anſwerable to his Raſhneſs, he was beat back, and with much ado recover'd the *Athenian* Camp; but *Phocion* ſoon fell on the purſuing *Macedonians*, and put them to flight. When ſounding a Retreat, and a little refreſhing his Men, with vigour and ſpeed he aſſaulted the Enemies Camp, where was held a while a doubtful and bloody Engagement. But his Horſe being at laſt in Confuſion and Flight, he rode up to them, and perſuaded them earneſtly to make a ſtand; who by their General's Words reviv'd, ſpirited with new Vigour and Courage, they fell ſo furiouſly on the Enemy, that the *Macedonians* fled and left them the Victory.

*He is made General of* Eretrians.

Theſe

These Affairs being thus happily settled, *Phocion* return'd to *Athens*. But the People always Lovers of Novelty, never considering the Merit of the Man, prov'd by so many Actions, send in his Place *Molossus*, who fighting with ill Success, fell alive into the Hands of *Philip*, which rais'd his Thoughts, and made him resolve to carry his Arms towards the *Hellespont*. To oppose him, the *Athenians* chose *Chares* General of their Forces: But he was so blinded by Lust, Avarice, and Rapine, that he never took any Care of what was necessary for the Public Good, the Advantage of the Allies, or the Warlike Preparations. For this Reason when *Philip* besieg'd *Byzantium*, the *Athenians* sent *Phocion* with an Army to their Relief, who immediately getting the Fleet ready, sail'd to *Byzantium*. The Fame of his Approach gave new heart to the Besieged, who immediately opened their Ports and receiv'd all his Men into their City; where he behav'd himself with that Moderation to the People, and Vigour against the Enemy, that *Philip* despairing of winning the City, willingly retir'd from the *Hellespont*. In *Philip's* retreat, *Phocion* took some of his Ships, and some of the Forts and Places which the *Macedonians* had possess'd themselves of, and fortify'd them well.

Chares *is made General.*

Not long after, he was sent by the *Athenians* to the Assistance of the *Megareans*, when falling off from the *Bœotians*, he brought them to an Alliance with his City. Other Generals being chosen in his Absence to make War against *Philip*, at his Return he endeavour'd to persuade the People to desist from War, as injurious to the Public, but not being able to prevail, *Philip* gave the *Athenians* a terrible Overthrow, on which they again chose *Phocion* General, who like a wise Citizen, first negotiated a Peace, before he attempted any thing by Force: But the News of *Philip's* Death arriving in the mean while, he prudently oppos'd the Public Rejoicings, that the *Athenians* were decreeing for so happy an Event, telling them, That it was below their Dignity to swell with Insolence on such an Occasion; and that the Death of *Philip* had lessen'd the Enemies Army but one Man; since his Son *Alexander* was still alive to revenge any Injury done to the Memory of his Father.

About this time *Alexander* having settled his Kingdom, was marching against *Thebes*, and laid Siege to that City, *Demosthenes* continually harangu'd the People against him. But when he had now taken *Thebes*, he sent to *Athens* to demand *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Charidemus*, threatning that City else to enter their Territory with Fire and Sword. The *Athenians* being struck with this Message,

and dreading the War, endeavour'd by an Embassy to mollifie *Alexander*; but he would not admit nor hear the Ambassadors, till *Phocion* was sent to him, who was not only receiv'd, but found so great Favour, that he perfectly obtain'd the Desires of the People. *Alexander* contracted such a Friendship with him, that in his Letters he always sent him *Greeting*; which word, after he had conquer'd *Darius*, he left out to all but *Phocion* and *Antipater*. Not long after the Conquest of *Persia*, he sent *Phocion* an hundred Talents for a Present: which when he had often refus'd, he ask'd the Messenger why *Alexander* chose him from so many noble *Athenians* for the Subject of his Liberality? they told him, Because he look'd on him as a good Man. Let him then, reply'd *Phocion*, suffer me so to remain, for the Acceptance of his Bounty will render me suspected both by the People and him. This spread his Fame, so as to cause many Debates among the Philosophers, Which was the Richer, he who had sent the Present, or he that refus'd it.

*Alexander* reflecting that *Phocion*'s Continence had vanquish'd his Liberality, sent him far greater Presents, adding this Message, That he was not his Friend, if he wou'd not accept any Favour from him. *Phocion* thinking it unjust to reject all the King's Favours, sent him his Mony back again, and only begg'd the Enlargement of four Philosophers, whom *Alexander* had in Prison. These being set at Liberty, *Alexander*, 'tis said, commanded *Craterus*, to give *Phocion* the choice of four Cities in *Asia*, and to let him know, that unless he accpted one of them, the King would be very angry; yet he could by no means corrupt the steady Continence of *Phocion*. He had but a small Fortune, and no fine *Villa*, or well-furnish'd Palace, yet was he in so great Veneration with the People, that when a *Tragœdian* that was to act a Queen found fault with the Train that was to attend him, the *Charagus* in a loud Voice cry'd out behind the Scenes, so that the Audience heard him— *Do you not see that the Wife of* Phocion *goes attended by one only Maid? but you must debauch the Sex, and fill the Womens Heads with* Pride *and Vanity.* The whole Audience clapp'd it through the Theatre. When a gay *Ionian* Dame shew'd *Phocion*'s Wife her Jewels, her Chains of Gold, and the like, in a vain ostentatious way. *For my part, Madam,* said she, *my Husband* Phocion, *who has commanded the* Athenians *now these twenty years, is all my Ornament.*

At

At the Death of *Alexander*, *Leoſthenes* was in great Power with the People; he ſtirr'd up the People mightily to engage in the *Grecian* War, and boaſted what mighty things he would do; *Young Man*, (ſaid *Phocion*) *your Language is like Cypreſs Trees, tall and topping, but without Fruit.* But all *Phocion* could do, could not with-hold the People from the War, but they march'd under *Leoſthenes* againſt the *Thebans*, where ſome ſucceſs againſt them and *Antipater* made them the more eager for the War; which, after the Death of *Leoſthenes*, not being able to divert, he made a Decree immediately, That all from 16 to 60 ſhould immediately take Arms, and follow him into *Bœotia*: But the old-men complaining of the Hardſhip, he told them, There was none, ſince he himſelf at fourſcore was ready to lead them. By this means at that time he quaſh'd their Eagerneſs for War.

In the mean while, *Micion* with a great Force of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries ravaging and pillaging the Sea-Coaſt, made a deſcent as far as *Ramnunta*, deſtroying all about him. *Phocion* is ſent out againſt him, he routed the Army and kill'd *Micion* on the ſpot; and after this, he vanquiſh'd the *Grecian* Army under *Leonatus* and *Antipater* in *Theſſaly*, *Leonatus* being kill'd in the Battel. *The ſlaughter of* Mici-on *and* Leona-tus.

*Antipater* having now maſter'd moſt of *Greece*, was reſolv'd to march againſt *Athens*, which threw the People into the utmoſt Conſternation, in which they had Recourſe to *Phocion*, and ſent him to negotiate with *Antipater*, by whom being honourably receiv'd, he granted, that his Army ſhould not enter *Attica*. In his ſecond Embaſſy he obtain'd a Peace, on the admitting a Garriſon into *Mynichia*, paying the charge of the War, &c. but they were forc'd to admit of *Menyllus* with a Garriſon into that Fortreſs, which was only offenſive to the Vulgar, not the Nobility. *Phocion* found Intereſt with *Antipater* to recall many who were baniſh'd; and he with great Care and ſingular Equity and Moderation manag'd things within the City. When *Menyllus* offer'd him a conſiderable Sum of Mony, he refus'd it, ſaying, That *he was not greater than* Alexander, *nor his Occaſions more urgent to make him receive it now, who had refus'd it from him.* To *Antipater* he reply'd, on his urging Preſents and a diſhonourable thing, *Antipater can't have me both his Friend and Flatterer.* And *Antipater* us'd to ſay, That he had two Friends at *Athens*, *Phocion* and *Demades*; on one he could never faſten any Gratification at all, and the other would never be ſatisfy'd. *Phocions* Virtue gave a Glory to his Poverty, who having ſo long commanded the *Athenians*, and had ſuch

Intimacy with Foreign Princes, grew yet old and poor in the Service of the Commonwealth.

*Antipater* being now dead, having nam'd *Polyperchon* General, *Caſſander* ſet up for himſelf: He ſent *Nicanor* to ſucceed *Menyllus* before the Death of *Antipater* ſhould be known; which being effected, *Phocion* was accus'd of being Confederate in the Practice; but not minding the ſcandal, he did all he could to engage *Nicanor* to be civil and obliging to the *Athenians*. *Polyperchon*, to countermine *Caſſander*, ſends the King's Letters to *Athens*, by which they were ſet at Liberty to exerciſe their ancient Form of Government. A Tumult on this ariſing againſt *Caſſander*, *Nicanor* coming to the Senate, ſummon'd into the *Pyræum* on *Phocion's* Parole for his Safety, *Dercyllus*, a Captain of the Militia, offer'd to ſeize him; but he hearing ſomething of the matter, made his Eſcape, with Threats of ſpeedily puniſhing them for the Affront. The People being now mixt of Foreigners, Exiles, &c. chooſe new Commanders, and *Alexander* the Son of *Polyperchon* being near the City with a good Army, under pretence of coming to aſſiſt them againſt *Nicanor*, (being diſcover'd at a private Conference with him) the City, juſt on the brink of Ruin, was ſav'd.

*Agnonides* the Orator fell upon *Phocion*, impeaching him of Treaſon; who, upon that went, over to *Polyperchon*, then with the King in thoſe Parts, and *Agnonides* and others accus'd him. *Phocion* is taken into Cuſtody, and carried to *Athens*, and there in a tumultuous way condemn'd with his Friends to die, without being heard; ſo being carry'd from Judgment to Priſon, ſome of his Enemies ſpit in his Face: And being there, they were all oblig'd to take Poiſon, which ſoon diſpatcht them; but there not being Poiſon enough, the Executioner ask'd Mony of him to enlarge the Doſe, which one of his Friends giving him, the Poiſon was got: *Alas*, ſaid *Phocion*, *I am oblig'd ev'n to pay for my Death in* Athens. His Death put not an end to the Indignities offer'd him; for they threw his Body out of the Country unburied, till *Conopion*, at his own Expence, had his Corps carried beyond *Eleuſina*, borrowing Fire of a *Woman* of *Megæra*, who, with her Servants, was the only Aſſiſtant at the Obſequies: The Bones were collected and put under a ſmall Monument. But ſoon after the People miſſing his Wiſdom and Vertues, decreed him a Statute of Braſs, and his Bones to be buried honourably at the publick Charge.

*His death.*

The

# The LIFE of *CATO the Younger.*

*Cato* the Younger drew his Original from his Great Grandfather *Cato* the Elder, whoſe Life is already written, and who was a Man eminent for Gravity, Wiſdom and Nobility. The Conſtancy and Gravity of this *Cato* the Younger was remarkable even from his Childhood; for with a Serenity beyond his years, he neither Laugh'd, nor could eaſily compoſe his Face to Laughter: Nor was he eaſily provok'd to Anger; but when he was, his Paſſion was not quickly nor eaſily laid. He was unapt to learn, but what he learnt, his Memory retain'd ſo faithfully, as never to loſe it. He with his Siſter *Portia*, his half-Brother *Cæpio*, and half-Siſter *Servilia*, was brought up in the Houſe of his Uncle *Livius Druſus*, a Man of extraordinary Eloquence.

*His early Conſtancy*

The Ambaſſadors of the *Latines* coming to *Rome* to negotiate their being made free of the City, apply'd themſelves to *Druſus* to ſtand their Friend in the *Senate*; but coming one day, they found the Boys, *Cæpio* and *Cato*, and deſir'd them to intercede with their Uncle in the behalf of their City; *Cæpio* by a ſmile ſeem'd to conſent, but *Cato* put on a ſevere Countenance, and could by no means be brought to give them any Anſwer, tho' *Pompædius*, one of the Ambaſſadours, ſnatch'd him up to the Window, whence holding him out, he threaten'd to throw him down if he perſiſted obſtinate, but nothing mov'd him; ſo that *Pompædius* ſaid to his Friend—— *Were this Boy a Man, we ſhould never carry our Point.*

Being another time invited to Supper, in a Sport of acting Pleadings before a Judge, a beautiful Boy being condemn'd and carry'd to Priſon, (who cry'd out from a real or imaginary Abuſe) *Cato* made his way through all that guarded him, and carried him home with him: By ſuch means he got ſuch an Aſcendant over the Boys, that they with one conſent choſe him for one of the Leaders of the Youth of Qua-

Quality, in the Races call'd the *Trojan Course*, tho' *Sylla* had appointed two to that Office, one being the Son of *Metella*, *Sylla*'s Wife; the other *Sextus*, the Nephew of *Pompey*.

Sylla's *House a Slaughter-House*

Being about this time often carry'd to the *Hostel* of *Sylla*, by his Tutor, which was indeed not much unlike a Slaughter-House, the Heads of the proscrib'd being every moment brought in for the Reward or Price set upon them; the Boy observing this, ask'd his Tutor why no-body did stabb so wicked a Man; he reply'd, *Because he was more fear'd, than hated: Why then* (continu'd he) *do you not give me a Sword, to deliver my Country from so great a Pest.* Observing a confirmation of his words in his Countenance, his *Tutor* took care to watch him narrowly, lest he should make any desperate Attempt upon *Sylla*. His Love to his Brother *Cæpio* was great and constant to his Death; his Discourse was Manly and Sententious, and he was Master of such a Voice and Lungs, that he could speak, and that very loud, for a whole day together; being likewise very patient of Heat and Cold. Nor was he fond of new Cloaths, going often into the *Forum* in a black Gown, and bare-footed, and often in his Wastcoat only. He was of so hardy a Temper, that he would be alone, nor suffer any to attend him, in his Sickness. He was extreamly chaste, for he never knew any Woman before he marry'd; he was first contracted to *Lepida* pre-contracted to *Metellus Scipio*; who repenting, got her at last from *Cato*; who thus provok'd, wrote Jambicks against him equal to those of *Archilochus* in Wit and Sharpness, but free from his Scurrility. After this, he marry'd *Attilia*, the Daughter of *Sorranus*, she being the first (tho' not the only) Woman he ever knew.

*Cato* serv'd in the *Spartan* Wars, under the Prætor *Gellius*, and behav'd himself so well, that he seems to have fal'n little short of his Grandfather in that particular. Being now chosen *Military Tribune*, he was sent into *Macedon*, to *Rubrius*, who commanded in that Country at that time, where the General giving him the Command of a Legion, he manag'd it so well, and brought them to that excellent Discipline, that it was a Doubt, whether they were more Civiliz'd, or more Warlike; more Valiant, or more Just. He gain'd himself a mighty Love among the Soldiers, by wearing the same Habit, eating the same Food, and undergoing the same Labour, so that when he left the Army, he was honour'd with the Tears and Embraces of the Soldiers.

He

He pass'd through *Asia* before he return'd to *Rome*, and made a Visit to King *Deiotarus*, with whom he staid but one Night, because he offer'd him Presents, which he refus'd with Indignation, both for himself, and Friends and Attendants.

Being return'd to *Rome*, and the *Quæstorship* falling to him, he would not enter on the Place till he had made himself absolutely perfect in the Laws and Customs of that Office; by which means he discover'd the Tricks and Frauds of the Clerks and under-Officers, reform'd the Abuses, and laid down the Methods of proceeding in so admirable a manner, that he was the wonder of all Men. He wrote down the Accounts of the Treasury with extraordinary diligence, by his Address adding such a Majesty to that Order, that it seem'd to have had the Accession of the Consular Dignity. *His care of the Exchequer.*

When *Sylla* had usurp'd the Commonwealth, he had thrown away a great deal of the public Money on the Murtherers of those he proscrib'd; whom, tho' all the People hated, yet no body punish'd. But *Cato* bearing their Impunity with Indignation, made them refund all the Money they had receiv'd; which made way for their Capital Punishment for murdering the Citizens. Thus always watchful for the Service of the Public, he was continually the first in the Office, and the last that left it, lest any of the public Money should be by Favour or Corruption squanderd on the Unworthy. He thus became very agreeable to his Collegues, furnishing them with a Denial to those, who importun'd them in such Suits, by telling them, That they could not do it without *Cato*'s Consent: By this means he repleniſh'd the Treasury which *Sylla* had exhausted. He thus arriv'd to such a Veneration from the People, that when an Orator was pleading, That one Witness ought not to be credited; he added, *No, tho' it were* Cato *himself.* And when any one would tell incredible Stories, it was a common Proverb to answer, That *it was not to be believ'd tho'* Cato *himself should tell it.* Many of these Sayings were common in *Rome*, which were Witnesses of his Glory and Reputation. *His Integrity.*

For this reason his Friends press'd him to sue for the Tribuneship; but he finding himself not capable of doing the Commonwealth any Service in that Post, at that time he would not give ear to their Perswasions, but when he met *Metellus Nepos* going for *Rome* to stand for that Post, he return'd and put up for it, and carried it with so vast a concourse of People, that he was almost press'd to death.

Being

Being fix'd in this Office, he obſerving the Elections of Conſuls were ſo corrupted with Bribery, he chid the people for it with the utmoſt vehemence, and impeached *Murena*, for obtaining the Conſulſhip with *Syllanus* by Largeſſes to the People; but *Murena* being acquitted, was ever after that adviſed by *Cato*, during his Conſulſhip, won by his Virtue, Probity, and Humanity; for, tho' ſevere and tenacious of Juſtice in the Senate and Courts, he was always affable and courteous in private Converſation.

Before his Tribuneſhip, he was very aſſiſtant to *Cicero* in his' proſecution of the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*; eſpecially when in the *Senate* it was debated, whether the Puniſhment of the Conſpirators ſhould be Death or not, when moſt of the Senate were for making it Capital; *Cæſar*, by his Speech, brought moſt of them to Impriſonment; but then *Cato* aroſe and vehemently reproach'd him, that he durſt endeavour to protect and preſerve the Parricides of their Country, and that he ought to be ſuſpected, who could ſhow ſo much Pity for them, and ſo little for ſo glorious a State, that was now like to be overthrown by their Villany.

Whilſt *Cato* was ſpeaking thus with great Ardor and Zeal, a Letter was brought into the Senate-Houſe to *Cæſar*, and *Cato* ſuſpecting, that it came from the Conſpirators, demanded that it ſhould be read publickly. But it came in reality from *Servilia*, *Cato*'s Siſter, who had an Intrigue with *Cæſar*; who therefore on *Cato*'s urging the matter, gave it to him to read. He having perus'd the Letter, threw it back to *Cæſar*, crying, *Take it you Sot*: returning then to the finiſhing his Speech, he concluded in ſo forcible a manner, that the whole *Senate* came over to his Opinion, and condemn'd the Conſpirators to Death. The Conſpirators being thus puniſh'd, *Cato* perſuaded the *Senate* to appeaſe the uneaſineſs of the People by a Donation of Corn to the value of 1250 Talents, which appeas'd them for a while; till *Metellus* in his Tribuneſhip was about to propoſe a Law for the calling of *Pompey* into *Italy*, with all his Forces, to ſecure the City from *Catiline* and his *Aſſociates*; but the real Deſign was to deliver up the Government of all things to him.

Cato's *Sentence of Conſpirators.*

*Cato* a while modeſtly oppos'd this, but when he found that was to no purpoſe, he exerted his Endeavours againſt it. So that he and *Thermus* ventur'd through the Arm'd *Forum* to the *Tribunal* by the Temple of *Caſtor*, to oppoſe *Metellus* and *Cæſar* (who was then *Prætor*, and aſſiſting *Metellus* with all his Power and Intereſt) in their promulgating the Law. When *Metellus* went to read it, *Cato* ſnatch'd it out of his Hands, but *Metellus* remembring it, and going to re-

repeat it *vivâ voce*, *Thermus* clap'd his Hand on his Mouth. *Metellus* therefore sent [illegible] for arm'd Men, all the other Party but *Cato* fled, who alone ſtood their Inſolence till *Murena*, whom he had formerly accus'd, forc'd him away into the Temple of *Caſtor*. The Friends of *Cato* rallying, and the arm'd Men being retreated, *Metellus* was fain to give over the Attempt, and left the City, going into *Aſia* to *Pompey*, and had by the *Senate* been depos'd from the Tribuneſhip, had not *Cato* himſelf oppos'd it; by his *Moderation* winning the Love of the People, and the Admiration of the *Patricians*.

*His Boldneſs and Reſolution.*

About this time, *Lucullus*, his Siſter *Servilia*'s Husband, return'd from the *Mithridatic* War, and ſeeking a Triumph, was oppos'd by *Caius Memmius*, and threatn'd to be accus'd, but *Cato* ſo far prevail'd, that *Memmius* was oblig'd to quit his Accuſation; ſo that he prevail'd for *Lucullus* his Triumph.

*Pompey* ſoon after returning from the Army, ſent to deſire, that the Choice of Conſuls might be put off till his Arrival, that he might be ſerviceable to the Election of *Piſo*, when the *Senate* ſeem'd inclining to it. *Cato* withſtood it ſo vehemently, that he over-rul'd the *Senate*, and diſappointed the Power of *Pompey*.

*Pompey* finding by this, that he could do nothing unleſs he could take off *Cato*, thought that an Alliance would do the Buſineſs. He therefore propos'd to marry one of his Daughters or Neices himſelf, and that his Son ſhould marry the other. But *Cato* ſent him word, *That he very much valu'd his Kindneſs, but that he was not to be byaſs'd by Women, nor would he give him Hoſtages againſt his* Country; *but that if he did what was rightful and juſt, he ſhould never want his Friendſhip in any thing.*

*Cato refuſes the Alliance of* Pompey.

Soon after this, *Pompey* marrys *Julia Cæſar*'s Daughter, and aſſiſted him in his Election to the Conſulſhip; which when he had obtain'd, he propos'd a Law for the Diviſion of Lands to the People, which *Cato* in vain oppos'd, being by *Cæſar* ſent to Priſon, but ſoon releas'd, the Conſul being aſham'd of what he had done.

*Publius Clodius* ſoon after being choſen Tribune of the People, thinking that he could not drive *Cicero* out of *Italy*, as long as *Cato* was at home, he would have him go *Quæſtor* into *Cyprus*; but *Cato* refuſing, and complaining that it was a Trick on him and the Commonwealth, *Clodius* got his Miſſion confirm'd by the Votes of the People. Being oblig'd to go, he adviſ'd *Cicero* not to hazard himſelf in the midſt of Arms and Murtherers.

Whilſt

Whilſt *Cato* was preparing for his Voyage King *Ptolomy* dies, and ſo he came eaſily into poſſeſſion of all the Royal Treaſure and Riches, expoſing to Sale by Auction all his Plate, Tables, Jewels, *&c.* took care not to be impos'd on in the Price, being every where himſelf, and managing and minding every thing, ſo that he got together about 7000 Talents. Returning therefore to *Rome*, he was receiv'd with great Magnificence and Honour, all Orders of Men and Magiſtrates went out to meet him, ſo that it ſeem'd not unlike a Triumph. The *Senate* decreed him an extraordinary *Prætorſhip*, and the right of wearing a Robe fac'd with Purple, but *Cato* refus'd all theſe Honours.

*Pompey* and *Craſſus* had agreed with *Cæſar*, that they ſhould ſeek the Conſulſhip, which when obtain'd they ſhould confirm his Command in *Gaul* for five years longer, and take to themſelves the greateſt Provinces, Armies, and Money to maintain them. This when ſome honeſt Men for fear patiently ſuffer'd, *Cato* with the utmoſt Diligence and Eagerneſs oppos'd, ſaying, That the Power of *Pompey* and *Craſſus* was not to be look'd on as of Men who ſought the Conſulſhip, but the Tyranny, But the Friends of *Pompey* finding the People inclining to *Lucius Domitius*, had him aſſaulted as he was going into the Field before day, all flying away but *Cato* and *Domitius*; and the later in the end quitting the Field, fled to his own Houſe; ſo *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were choſen Conſuls.

This did not deter *Cato* from demanding the Prætorſhip, that ſo he might be able the better to oppoſe the evil deſigns of the Conſuls, who ſet themſelves to oppoſe his Election, fearing his Power, if he carry'd it, would not be much leſs than theirs, giving many Money and Promiſes to ſtand for the place. But when, notwithſtanding this, *Cato* had carry'd it by the Votes of the firſt Tribe, *Pompey* fearing the Event, pretended that he heard it thunder, which diſſolv'd the Aſſembly, it being look'd on as wicked to continue it after ſuch a Pretence. There being abundance corrupted againſt the next meeting, and the better ſort being driven out of the Field, *Cato* loſt it, and *Vatinius* was choſen. But *Cato* undaunted, foretold all the Evils that would be the Conſequence of this, and fear'd not to ſpeak very freely of the Conſuls, and then return'd home to his Houſe, attended by abundance of People.

*Cato loſes the Prætorſhip.*

*Caius Trebonius*, an intimate Acquaintance of *Pompey*, was then Tribune of the People; who propoſing a Diviſion of Provinces, allotting *Spain* and *Africa* to one, and *Ægypt* and *Syria* to the other, *Cato* only durſt oppoſe him in a moſt vehe-

vehement Oration, till the Lictors pull'd him from the *Roſtea*, and ſuffer'd him to ſay no more; but ſtruggling to get up again, he perſuaded the People with all his might not to yield to a Breach of the Law, and, as ſoon as he could, return'd into the *Forum* again; at which *Trebonius* being provok'd, order'd him to be carry'd to Priſon, but the People following him, and giving great Attention to what he ſaid, *Trebonius* afraid of the Event, order'd him to be diſmiſs'd. The next day *Aquilius*, another of the Tribunes of the People, and *Cato*, oppoſing it, the firſt was ſhut up in the *Temple*, and the latter driven out of the *Forum*; ſo by the ſlaughter of many, and the wounds of more, *Trebonius* paſs'd the Law.

Being *Prætor* the next year, he went through the Streets without his Gown, and bare-footed, and in this Dreſs judg'd all manner of Cauſes.

*Cato* having ſhew'd his Zeal in reforming the Corruption of Elections, rais'd himſelf many Enemies, among whom was *Pompey*, who look'd on the encreaſe of *Cato*'s Power the ruin of his own; he therefore ſet up ſeveral to rail at him, with *Clodius* at their head, which made a mighty noiſe againſt him, for ſinking a great deal of the Treaſure he had got in the *Cyprian* Expedition to his own uſe, and that he hated *Pompey*, becauſe he had refus'd to marry his Daughter. To this *Cato* replied, That *he had brought more Treaſure from* Cyprus, *without either Horſe or Foot, than* Pompey *with all his Armies had from the Ranſack of the Univerſe, with all his Wars and Triumphs: That he never ſought any Alliance with* Pompey, *not as thinking him unworthy of it, but as differing ſo much with him in point of Government, or State-Affairs.* On this occaſion *Cato* reflected very ſeverely on *Pompey*'s Conduct.

The Diſſentions in the Election of Conſuls were come to that height, that it was propos'd to make *Pompey* only Conſul, which *Cato* ſeconded; and being choſen, *Pompey* invited him to Supper, and embracing him, acknowledg'd his Favour: *What I have formerly ſaid againſt you*, replied *Cato*, *was not in Hatred of* Pompey; *nor what I have now done, out of Love to* you; *but all for the Good of the* Commonwealth. *Pompey* having aboliſh'd the Cuſtom of making Orations in praiſe of the Accus'd, ſent one himſelf afterwards in behalf of his Friend *Munacius Flaccus*; *Cato*, one of his Judges, ſtopt his Ears all the while.

Reſolv'd now to ſtand for the Conſulſhip, to oppoſe *Cæſar*, (now in *Gaul*, and in Arms) *Sulpitius*, ſet up by *Cato*, ſtood againſt him, for which being condemn'd of Ingratitude, *Cato*

ex-

excus'd him, by saying, That *it was no manner of Wonder, that a Man should not yield that to another, which he esteem'd a Good of the utmost importance.*

Missing the Consulship, he was so far from discovering any Dissatisfaction, as usually Men did on such a Disappointment, that he anointed himself the next day, came into the Field, and went after Dinner, according to Custom, into the *Forum* without his Shoes or Coat.

**Cato's *honest Opinion.***

*Cæsar* having now subdued abundance of Warlike Nations, fell at last upon the *Germans*, then in Peace with the *Romans*, and kill'd 300000 of 'em; but on a Motion in the Senate (by *Cæsar*'s Friends) for a Thanksgiving, *Cato* alone oppos'd it, saying, That Cæsar *ought to be given up to the* Germans, *whom he had invaded without Provocation; and therefore there ought to be no Thanksgiving for the General's Rashness, but that the Gods had vouchsafed not to punish the* Romans *for his Perfidiousness.* Upon this, *Cæsar* wrote a Letter to the *Senate* full of Accusations of *Cato*; who hearing it calmly, clear'd himself of the Imputations, and concluded, that the *Senate* ought to be more afraid of *Cæsar*, than of the *Britons* or *Gauls*; exposing all the steps he had taken, and prov'd, that their Liberties were gone, unless they immediately recall'd him and sent him a Successour. And when News was brought soon after that *Cæsar* had taken *Ariminum* and was marching to *Rome*, all from the *Senate* to the People own'd *Cato*'s Foresight.

***Follows* Pompey.**

He himself follows *Pompey*, and being sent into *Asia* to get a Fleet together, and to send the choice Soldiers to him, *Cato* took a particular Care, and used an admirable Diligence in executing his Charge. Returning to *Dyrrachium*, he by his Speech of Liberty, contempt of Death, Virtue, Glory, and the like, gave such an Intrepidity to the Soldiers, scarce mov'd by all that had before been said to them, that they fell on *Cæsar* and routed his Men, but *Cæsar*'s good Fortune prevailing it self of *Pompey*'s Diffidence & Caution, made the Victory of no account. This was plain in the Rout of *Pompey* at *Pharsalia*, who being vanquish'd, *Cato* retreated into *Africa* to *Sextus Pompeius*, the Son of *Pompey the Great*, and hearing of his Death, he join'd his Forces with the Proconsul *Scipio*, at *Utica*. He endeavour'd to persuade *Scipio* to follow the Advice which he always gave *Pompey*, not to come to a Battel with *Cæsar*, but to protract the War, for that by delay he would weary the Tyranny and make it gain that Odium it surely merited. But *Scipio* not following his Advice, lost both the Field and Camp, scarce himself escaping, with King *Juba*.

*Cato*

*Cato* ſtill endeavour'd to perſuade the *Roman* Merchants and People of *Utica* to make a vigorous Defence, and chooſe to dye for their Glory and the Liberty of their Country. Tho' *Cato*'s Arguments for a while prevail'd, and gave them Zeal and Fire unknown to them, yet Fear ſoon baniſh'd thoſe noble Notions, and they diſcover'd a greater Inclination to throw themſelves on *Cæſar*'s Mercy, than to experience his Proweſs by a Manly Reſiſtance; for they thought it impoſſible for them to oppoſe a Man, who had vanquiſh'd *Rome*, *Pompey*, *Scipio* and *Cato*, and ſo many great and illuſtrious Men of the firſt Rank and Quality.

*Cato* having fully ſounded the Inclinations of all Parties, he reſolv'd to provide for the ſafety of his Aſſociates, finding them fearful and the People of *Utica* unfaithful and not to be truſted; having long ſince reſolv'd what to do with himſelf. He therefore provides Ships enough to ſend them all aboard, and following them to the Sea-ſide, embracing them as Gueſts, and Friends, he gave thoſe, that wanted it, Money, and diſmiſs'd them all with a great deal of Humanity. *Cato takes care to ſend his friends away from Utica.*

When he could not perſuade his Son to leave him and go with the reſt, (for he thought it a Crime to deſert his Father) he adviſ'd him rather to ſuffer Death, than ever bear Arms againſt his Country. After this, being at Supper with ſome of the Magiſtrates of *Utica*, and his Friends, he held an Argument to prove, That *none but good and honeſt Men were Free, but all others Slaves.* And he refuted the Objections with that Force and Eagerneſs, that all who heard him were afraid, that he had thoughts of putting an end to his Life. The Supper and Diſputé being over, he went to his Chamber, and having read over *Plato*'s Book of the *Immortality of the Soul*, he kill'd himſelf with his Sword, which his Son had before taken away, and which he had commanded back; his Fall alarm'd and brought into his Room his Son and Servants; the Surgeon having ſome hopes of Life, went to bind up the Wound, but he puſh'd him away, and tore out his Bowels himſelf. *The death of Cato.*

Thus *Cato* dy'd in the 40th year of his Age. The News of this being ſpread about the Town, and common Grief ſpread with it, all calling him their Benefactor, deplor'd him as ſuch, and the only invincible and free of the *Romans*. And tho' *Cæſar* advanc'd towards the City, they gave him an honourable Funeral, and burying him on the Sea-Coaſt, ſet over him a Monument with his own Statue in Braſs, holding a Sword in his Hand. *Cæſar* hearing of his Death, ſaid, *Cato, I envy thee thy Death, for thou haſt envy'd me the Glory of preſerving thy Life.*

# The LIFE of AGIS.

AGIS was of the Royal Family of *Eurytion*, and the Son of *Eudamidas*, the ſixth in Deſcent from *Ageſilaus*; and *Leonidas* the Son of *Cleonimus*, and the eighth in Deſcent from *Pauſanias*, of the Royal Branch of the *Agiades*, was his Fellow-King. His Affectation of Foreign Manners in imitating thoſe of the great Lords of *Perſia*, with whom he had much been when a Follower of *Seleucus*, made him but little belov'd by the People, who, tho' corrupt enough, would not reliſh his Aſiatic Luxury in a limited Government of a *Greek* Commonwealth, where *Leonidas* endeavour'd to govern with an Aſiatic Pride and Haughtineſs, which loſt him the Hearts of the People.

*Agis* on the contrary, Mild, Humble, and Affable to all, excell'd not only *Leonidas*, but all the Kings from *Ageſilaus* the Great, both in Nobleneſs of Mind, and in Prudence. Before he was twenty years old, tho' bred tenderly by his Mother and Grandmother, he renounc'd Effeminate Pleaſures. He was ſo averſe to the Fopperys of Dreſs, that he would not uſe any manner of Ornament, tho' his Perſon in it ſelf was very handſom; nor would he make uſe of the more nicely prepar'd Baths and Feaſts, chuſing in all things to imitate the old *Lacedemonian* Frugality and Diſcipline; declaring, that he had rather not be King, than not reſtore the ancient Laws and Manners of his Country. Which when he endeavour'd to effect, and to reduce all to an Equality, he found great Obſtructions from the old rich Men, who could not endure to hear of the Laws of *Lycurgus*.

But *Agis*, deſirous of accompliſhing what he deſign'd, conſulting *Lyſander*, *Mandroclidas*, and *Ageſilaus* his Mothers Brother, prevail'd with his Mother *Ageſiſtrata*, and his Grandmother *Archidamia*, who were powerful in Riches, Dependants, Relations, and Debtors, to join in the Deſign.

*Leoni-*

*Leonidas*, set on by the Rich Men, made not an open Resistance to *Agis*, but spread Reports, that he design'd by the Riches and Lands of the Wealthy, to buy the Tyranny of the People, and secure himself by a Guard of them. But these idle Rumors had no effect on *Agis*, he pursued his Intentions, and made *Lysander* one of the *Ephori*. Having accomplish'd this, he soon propos'd a Law for cancelling all Debts, and the division of Lands; but not being able to carry this in the Senate, *Lysander* summoning the People together, made a Speech to them to confirm this Law: He was seconded by *Mandroclidas*, and *Agesilaus* spoke to the same effect. King *Agis* at the same time stood up and spoke much for the passing the Law, assuring them, that he himself would be the first who should bring all he had to be divided in that manner; which got him the very Hearts of the People, who cry'd, They had not had a King in *Sparta* besides himself these three hundred years; and by this means all the People follow'd him. Lysander *made* Ephori.

*Leonidas* fearing that he must be forc'd to bring in all his Estate, and yet lose the Merit of it with the People, joyning the Rich, with all their Pow'r and Interest oppos'd the passing the Bill, and threw it out by one Voice. *Lysander* provok'd by this, harrangu'd against *Leonidas*, and accus'd him of Capital Crimes, as marrying a *Persian* Wife, expressly contrary to Law; *Leonidas* fearing the Event, fled, his Daughter *Chelonis* Wife to *Cleombrotus*, leaving her Husband to flie with her Father; *Lysander* depos'd him, and plac'd *Cleombrotus* in his Place.

But *Lysander*'s Magistracy being out, the succeeding *Ephori* call'd him and *Mandroclidas* to an Account for annulling all Debts and division of Lands contrary to Law. Being provok'd by this Proceeding, they getting the People together, threw the *Ephori* out of their places, and put *Agesilaus* and others into their room; by whose cunning Villany the noble design was disappointed, for *Agesilaus* was very much in Debt, but had at the same time a very large Estate in Land; he therefore persuaded the Kings to remit the Debts first, and afterwards divide the Land, lest attempting two such great things at once, they caus'd some dangerous Commotion. Lysander *and* Mandroclidas *accus'd.*

In compliance with this Advice of *Agesilaus*, all Bonds, Judgments, Deeds, &c. were commanded to be brought into the Market-place, and were there burnt, but the division of Lands, *Agesilaus*, who never intended it, delay'd by several Artifices, till there was a necessity that *Agis* should go into the Field on a Warlike Expedition: From which when in

a few Months he return'd he found the City full of Seditions, caus'd by the Male-Adminſtration of *Ageſilaus*, and his deſigns of being choſe *Ephore* again, before his year was out, and chiefly by the Lands not being divided as was propos'd. The Rich and Old Men being thus exaſperated, conſpire to recall *Leonidas* from Exile, which being effected, *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* fled to Sanctuary. *Leonidas* neglecting, *Agis* purſu'd *Cleombrotus* his Son-in-Law, with a Reſolution to be fully reveng'd of him; but his Daughter *Chelonis*, who had left her Husband to flie with her Father, now leaves her Father to flie to her Husband; and by her Prayers and Mediation of Friends, ſo far pacified *Leonidas*, as to turn his Anger into perpetual Baniſhment, in which *Chelonis* accompany'd him, notwithſtanding the Entreaty of her Father.

*Agis* on the other hand, being fled to the Temple of *Juno*, was by the Treachery of three Friends, *Demochares*, *Amphares*, and *Archeſilaus*, betray'd to the Priſon; and then the *Ephori*, in a pretended Form of Judgment, commanded an Account of his Adminiſtration; which when he had juſtify'd, they condemn'd him to Death, and commanded him to he carry'd into the *Decade* (the Place of Execution in the Priſon) the very Officers refus'd to do it, till *Demochares* himſelf thruſt him in, upbraiding and railing at the Officers. *Agis* being now juſt going to dye, obſerv'd one of the Serjeants extreamly bewailing his Misfortunes, *Weep not my Friend* (ſaid he) *for me, for I die innocent and unjuſtly, but weep for thoſe who are guilty of this wicked Deed; my Condition is much better than theirs.* Upon which, he ſtretch'd out his Neck to the Nooſe, and dy'd without any Struggle or Pain. Not content with this Barbarity, *Amphares* going out of the Priſon, admitted his Grandmother and Mother, under Pretence of ſeeing him, and there murder'd them with him.

The

# The LIFE of *CLEOMENES.*

*Cleomenes* was the Son of *Leonidas* the King mention'd in the former Life, who forc'd the Widow of *Agis*, Young, Beautiful, and Virtuous, to marry *Cleomenes*, tho' then not of Age ripe enough for Marriage; for being the Daughter of *Gylippus*, she was Heiress to a great Estate. She lov'd *Cleomenes* very well when he came to cohabit with her, but always hated *Leonidas*, inspiring into her Husband an Admiration of *Agis*, whose Memory was always dear to her. For *Cleomenes* having naturally a Brave and Magnanimous Soul, and desirous of Glory, and very much inclin'd to Frugality and Modesty, and an Enemy to Sloath and Pleasure, he easily, by hearing his Story, imbib'd an Emulation of his Virtues and noble Designs. He detested the Love of Riches, because a Magistrate who was intent on the pursuit of Gain must postpone the Good and Care of the Public to those criminal Desires.

*Leonidas* being therefore dead, he succeeded to the Crown, and observing that the Citizens were entirely devoted to Luxury and Pleasure, and the Elder sort to Gain and Usury, he had a great desire to reform their Manners, and restore the Ancient Discipline of *Sparta*. But believing that this was not to be effected in Peace, he engag'd the People in a War against the *Achæans*. *Aratus*, a leading Man of *Achaia*, wasted the Country of the *Arcadians*, and *Cleomenes* was by the *Ephori* sent against him, and surpriz'd and fortify'd the Temple of *Minerva*. After this, he took *Mæthudrium*, and spoil'd the Country of the *Argives*. *Aratus* enquiring the Character of *Cleomenes*, *Democrites* a *Spartan* Exile, told him, *That if he design'd any thing against the* Lacedæmonians *he must do it before this young* Eagle *had got his Talons.* *He comes to the Crown.*

The *Achæans* sending an Army of 20000 Foot, and 1000 Horse under *Aristomachus*, who joining *Aratus* at *Palantium*, was fac'd by *Cleomenes*, and bid Battel; which *Aratus* dissuading, they left the *Spartans*, who were but Five thousand,

to boast of their Valour and Daring, while *Aratus* incur'd the Imputation of *Cowardice*. This raising the Name of *Cleomenes* over *Greece*; while the *Achæans* made War upon the *Eleans*, *Cleomenes* falling on their Rear, routed their Army near *Lycæum* in their Retreat. But *Aratus* being reported to be kill'd in the Battel, made use of that opportunity to surprize *Mantinea*, and put into it a new Garrison. This made the *Spartans* against the Prosecution of the War. But he bribing the *Ephori*, is again declar'd General; and marching against the *Achæans*, took *Leuctra*, under the Walls of which fighting with *Aratus*, part of his Army is worsted; but *Lysiades*, contrary to the Orders of *Aratus*, pursuing them into hollow Valleys, *Cleomenes* rally'd and fell on his Men, routed them, and kill'd *Lysiades* himself.

Exalted by this Success, he thought of greater Designs, resolving to oppress the *Ephori*, and restore the Equality establish'd by *Lycurgus*; and bringing over to it *Megistones*, who had marry'd his Mother, he took with him in his new Expedition all those, whom he thought opposite to his new Model, and won the Cities of *Eræa* and *Alcæa*, furnish'd *Orchomenium* with Provisions, and besieg'd *Mantinea*, and so harrass'd them, that many at their own Request he left in *Arcadia* with the *Mercenaries*. He march'd with Expedition to *Sparta*, and surprizing the *Ephori* at Supper, his Men put them to the Sword, and took possession of the whole Administration himself; for throwing aside the Seats of the *Ephori*, he heard Causes in their room, and proscribing 80 of the principally suspected, he made a Speech to the People, to justify his Conduct; and with a great deal of Eloquence beginning from *Lycurgus*, he made appear to them the great Power of the Kings before the Usurpations of the *Ephori*, proving to them, that they were only at first deputed by the Kings, when taken up in the Wars, to hear Causes, and decide civil Controversies; and, that they were then only the Ministers of the Kings, not their Masters; but that by insensible degrees they assum'd a distinct Jurisdiction from the Kings; and at last more and more degenerating, they not only endeavour'd to subvert the sacred Institutes of the Commonwealth, but had depos'd some Kings, and inflicted the last Punishment on others; and concluded, that this Licentiousness of the *Ephori* might not abolish all the admirable Ordinances of *Sparta*, he thought himself oblig'd to flie to its Assistance, and that he should have thought himself the happiest of Princes, could he have accomplish'd this without any Bloodshed; but since that was not to be done, he had taken Care to let none suffer but those, whose Lives were incom-

*Alies the Government by killing the* Ephori.

incompatible with the Public Safety: That now the Commonwealth was free'd from thoſe Thorns, what remain'd was, that every one ſhould bring in their Riches and Money into the Public Stock, and make a diviſion of Lands, and remit all manner of Debts and Demands of that Nature.

*The diviſion of Lands.*

Having ſaid much of this kind to pacifie the People, he firſt brought his own Wealth into the publick Treaſury, and his Example was follow'd by his Father-in-law, and his other Friends, and finally by all the reſt of the Citizens; after which, there was an equal diviſion made of all the Lands of *Laconia*: Then, to take away all Suſpicion of Tyranny or Arbitrary Power, he took his Brother *Eucleides* in Partner of the Throne, and reſtor'd all the ancient Diſcipline of *Sparta*, which they us'd in their Exerciſe, Eating, and the like.

Underſtanding that *Aratus* and the *Achæans* imagin'd, that *Cleomenes*, upon ſuch a Revolution, durſt not leave the City, to make himſelf fear'd and terrible, he with diſpatch got an Army together, fell into the Country of the *Megalopolitans*, and got a great Booty: And to ſhew his greater Contempt of the Enemy, he built a Theatre in the Enemies Country, and had Plays acted before him a whole Day, his Men being however in exact Diſcipline, the Young Men on Duty, and the Old inſtructing them in their Exerciſe and *Laconic* Raileries.

The King himſelf was the beſt Maſter, teaching them by the Example of his own Frugality, Temperance, and Modeſty, never appearing more ſtately or expenſive, than any of the Commons. He was not beſieg'd by pompous Guards, Attendants, Thrones, and Chairs of State, difficult of Acceſs, or haughty in Converſation, but affable to all, diſcourſing them freely, and anſwering all their Demands and Petitions without Courtiers and Officers Delays; he heard all with ſo much Humanity, and anſwer'd them with ſo much Modeſty, that he was moſt dear to, and moſt valued by all. His Meals were regulated according to the *Laconic* Parſimony; if any Foreigner ſupp'd with him, he added another Couch, and encreas'd the Diſhes; the Wine was alſo more plentiful and delicious; for he reprov'd one of his Friends for entertaining a Stranger with only Pulſe and Black Breath, ſaying, That on ſuch occaſions they ſhould not be ſo *Laconian*. His Diſcourſe was not ſeverely grave, not vainly abuſive, but pleaſantly facetious and entertaining; for he thought it more worthy a King to win the Hearts of Men by Benignity, Virtue, and the Charms of Diſcourſe, than to bribe their Affections with Preſents and Largeſſes.

*His Converſation*

Won by this admirable Conduct, the *Mantineans* were the first that oblig'd him, by surprizing the *Achæan* Garrison, and admitting him into their City; hence marching to *Tegæa*, and soon after thro' *Arcadia*, to *Phæræ* in *Achaia*, forc'd the *Achæans* to battel, routed 'em, killing many, and taking not a few Prisoners.

He directed his Course next to *Lagon*, and driving out the *Achæan* Garrison, restor'd the City to the *Eleans*.

The *Achæan* Affairs running thus low, *Aratus* was afraid that they would accept the Proposal of *Cleomenes*, of having the chief Command; and, unable to prevent it, agrees with *Antigonus* King of *Macedon*, to come into the *Peleponnesus*; yet fearing that the People would close with *Cleomenes*, he propos'd, that he should have good Hostages, and come alone into the City, or with the Army treat at *Cillarabion*, a place of Exercise without the City.

*Cleomenes*, disgusted with this unfair Suspicion of him, declares War against *Achaia*, takes *Pellene* by Surprize, drives out the *Achæan* Garrison, and brings over to his side *Pheneon* and *Penteleon*.

The *Achæans* in the mean while sent their Mercenaries and Horse to observe *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, where they were apprehensive of Treachery, and went themselves to celebrate the *Nemæan* Games at *Argos*. *Cleomenes* hearing this, came with his Army in the Night to *Argos*, and got possession of that part of the Town call'd *Aspis*, terrified with which, they accepted his Conditions, gave Hostages, and him the chief Command.

This was no small addition to his Glory, because no other King could ever take that City, where *Pyrrhus* himself lost his Life.

*Cleomenes* marching from *Argos* to *Corinth*, in his way took in the *Trazenians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Hermioneans*; and coming to *Corinth*, he block'd up the Castle, did all he could to gain over *Aratus* in vain; so, by the Decree of the *Corinthians*, his Estate was confiscated, and *Cleomenes* made an Irruption into the Territories of the *Sicyonians*.

In the mean while, by the Importunity of *Aratus*, *Antigonus* with a great Army pass'd *Gerania*. *Cleomenes* fortifying the Passes, reduc'd him to great Streights for want of Provision; but having notice of the Revolt of *Argos*, he was fain to leave his post, and march back to secure *Laconia* and even *Sparta* it self; yet in his way he assaulted *Argos*, joyn'd the Garrison of the Castle, and worsted the *Argives*: But finding *Antigous* coming down the Hills with his *Phalanux*, he made a handsom Retreat. In this manner, tha. Grandeur

he

he had gain'd in a little time, he unfortunately loſt in a leſs.

On his way he heard of the Death of his beloved Wife *Ægiatis*, which, tho' it pierc'd him to the Soul, yet he gave not way ſo to Grief, as to ſuffer any diminution of his Majeſty.

*Antigonus* in the mean while taking *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, and *Orchomenium*, confin'd *Cleomenes* within the narrow compaſs of *Laconia*. In this Diſtreſs he rais'd 500 Talents, by giving Liberty to ſuch *Helotes* as could pay him five *Attic* Pounds, by which he arm'd 2000 Men after the *Macedonian* manner, to make 'em able to encounter the *Leucaſpidæ* of *Antigonus*; then ordering his Men to take five days Proviſion along with 'em, he march'd out, as to plunder the Country of the *Argives*, but turning ſhort, he went directly to *Megalopolis*, a Town as conſiderable as *Sparta* for largeneſs and People, and ſurpriz'd it, moſt of the Inhabitants flying away to *Meſſina*; whence when they would not return to their City, *Cleomenes* gave it to the Plunder, and demoliſh'd great part of it.

A little after this, while *Antigonus* was in Winter-Quarters at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* made an Inroad into the Territory of the *Argives*, deſtroying all with Fire and Sword to the very Walls; but, unable to bring *Antigonus* to a Battel, he retir'd again.

Having Intelligence a little after, that *Antigonus* was marching to *Tegæa*, in his way to fall into *Laconia*, he made a Counter-march, and arriv'd at the Walls of *Argos*, waſting all the Fields about it, and deſtroying all the Corn: Then ſacrificing without the Temple of *Juno*, he march'd to *Philius*, and driving out the Garriſon of *Hologountum*, he went down to *Orchomenium*.

Theſe Actions were ſo great and ſurprizing, that not only his own Citizens, but his very Enemies, admir'd his Bravery and Conduct, and acknowledg'd him worthy of Command, who with the Powers of one Town fought the *Macedonians* and all the *Peloponneſians*, preſerving *Laconia*, and waſting his Enemy's Country.

But want of Money forc'd him with an Army of 20000 to fight one of 30000, where loſing both his Brother and the Day, he was forc'd to fly. But coming to *Lacedæmon*, he adviſ'd his People to ſubmit to *Antigonus*; and after ſome little Pauſe and Conſideration, he reſolv'd to ſail for *Ægypt*, to *Ptolomy*, to whom he had ſent his Mother and Children as Hoſtages. He receiv'd him agreeably to their Friendſhip, and every day admir'd him more and more, allowing him

twenty-

twenty-four Talents a Year, till he could assist him with an Army to recover *Greece*; but before he had perform'd his Promise, the King died, and was succeeded by another *Ptolomy*, a Prince wholly devoted to his Pleasures. He having a younger Brother favour'd by the Soldiers, was jealous that he might by their help depose him, therefore resolv'd to murther him privately, but was diverted from that Barbarity by *Cleomenes*, who assur'd him, he need not fear the Mercenaries since he had a Power over them, 3000 of 'em being *Peloponnesians*.

This, tho' spoke with Integrity, was made use of by *Sosibius* to his prejudice, as having too great an Interest in the Mercenaries: But *Cleomenes* desiring an Army and Ships, was not minded; and his Petition, that he might then be discharg'd, with his Friends, was never given to the King, nor he admitted to his Sight; yet *Sosibius* did not think it safe, that he should be forc'd to stay against his Will, and yet live.

In the mean while *Nicagoras* the *Messenian* arriv'd in the Port of *Alexandria*, whilst *Cleomenes* was on the Key, who saluting him civily, was answer'd in the same manner, tho' *Nicagoras* ow'd him a Grudge, for not paying him the Money of a Purchase he had made of him some time before in Land. *Cleomenes* asking him what he made at *Alexandria*, he replied, That he had brought Horses to sell there. *Cleomenes* smiling, said, *You had better have brought Pimps, Whores, and Pathics, for those are now the King's chief Delight.* *Nicagoras* smiling at the Jest, went away, but the next day press'd *Cleomenes* for his Money, as having met with a bad Market, and much wanting it at that time; but *Cleomenes* assuring him, that he had not a Penny left of all that had been given him, *Nicagoras* was very angry, and so discover'd to *Sosibius* the Reflection he had made on *Ptolomy*.

*Sosibius*, pleas'd with this Opportunity of enraging the King, perswaded *Nicagoras* to leave a Letter, assuring him, that *Cleomenes* had a Design to seize *Cyrene*, if he had obtain'd an Army of *Ptolomy*. This Letter four Days after, as if just deliver'd, he gives to the King, who in a great Rage commands him to be confin'd to a certain Apartment, whither he was betray'd by a specious Invitation. But *Cleomenes* and his Friends resolving to die like *Spartans*, when the Guards were drunk and asleep, they issued forth with their drawn Swords, crying, *Liberty, Liberty to the People*, but those habitual Slaves took no notice of 'em. So being every way disappointed, they kill'd one-another, *Panteus* killing him-

himſelf laſt, having taken care to ſee that all the reſt were dead.

*Cleomenes* falling in this manner, the King order'd his Skin to be pull'd off, and him to be hang'd on a Gibbet; and his Children, Mother, and the Women that attended her, to be kill'd. His eldeſt Son threw himſelf from the top of the Houſe, but the Fall did not kill him. The Wife of *Peateus* being among the Women, was at laſt ſtrangled, taking Care of the Modeſty of her Perſon even in her Death. She had not been long married, and tho' not allow'd to follow her Husband, made her eſcape, and came to him at *Alexandria*.

The

# The LIFE of *TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.*

*Tiberius* was the Son of *Tiberius Gracchus*, and *Cornelia* Daughter of that *Scipio* who vanquish'd *Hannibal*. His Brother *Caius* was of a much different Temper, tho' of equal Honour and Resolution. The Countenance, Gesture, and Motion of *Tiberius* was Gentle and Compos'd; that of *Caius* Earnest and Vehement; the former in his Speeches was very modest, and us'd little Action; the other walk'd about the *Rostrum*, and in the vehemence of Action would pull off his Gown, what he said being so pathetical and impetuous, that he mov'd Horror in his Hearers; *Tiberius* more mild, and adapted more to Pity and Compassion. In Diet *Tiberius* was frugal, and no Lover of Variety; his Brother, in comparison of other Men, temperate enough, but much a greater Lover of Rarities than *Tiberius*.

These and his other Virtues, more than his Birth, made him be elected into the College of *Augurs* when he was yet very young; where *Appius Claudius*, a Man of Censorian and Consular Dignity, and a leading Man in the Senate, was so taken with him, that he proffer'd him his Daughter in Marriage. The Young Man embracing the Proposition with Joy, he went home with great Pleasure and Satisfaction, and at his very door calling to *Antistia* his Wife, he told her, that he had dispos'd of his Daughter in Marriage. The Wife surpriz'd with the suddenness of the thing, and the joyful manner of his expressing it, said, *What! have you dispos'd of her to* Tiberius Gracchus?

*His Marriage.*

His first Services in the War were in *Africa*, under *Scipio the Younger*, who had marry'd his Sister. So that a near Observation of the Virtues of his General gave in him such an Emulation, that he soon surpass'd all the Youth of the Army, mounting the Enemies Works the foremost; and when he left the Army, he left the Soldiers a great Regret at the loss of him.

After

After this Expedition, he went *Quæstor* in the *Numantine* War in *Spain*, under *Caius Mancinus*, a most unfortunate General. He being at one time reduc'd to such Streights, as to resolve to endeavour to escape by Night, but press'd by the *Numantines* (now Masters of his Camp) into such a place, whence he could not escape, he was forc'd to sue for a Truce and Cessation of Arms, but they would not treat with any one but *Tiberius*, in whom only they could confide. And he with admirable Address and Prudence, by a Peace, sav'd the Lives of 20000 *Romans*: Nay, his Interest was so great with them, that at his Suit they gave him again his Books of Account which they had taken in the plunder of the Camp.

This Peace was censur'd at *Rome* to be base and scandalous to the *Roman* Name; but the Common People, whose Relations had been sav'd by *Tiberius*, forgave all for his sake, except the Consul *Mancinus*, who was stript naked and sent to the Enemy, as it had been practic'd formerly in the War against the *Samnites*.

Being after this made *Tribune* of the People, he set himself to revive and put again in Force the *Agrarian* Law. *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Blossius* the Philosopher, are said to have stirr'd him up to this noble Attempt; which he did not pursue without consulting Men of the greatest Probity and Honour of the Time, as *Crassus* the *Pontifex Maximus* or High-Priest, *Mutius Scævola* the Lawyer, and *Appius Claudius* his Father-in-Law. For it was the Custom of the *Romans* to sell part of the Ground taken from those Enemies which were near *Rome*, and partly to divide it among the Poorer Citizens, at a very small Annual Rent. But the rich Men, by Usury and Extortion oppressing the Poor, by degrees got all the Land into their own Hands, which made the People sometimes refuse to go to the Wars. This Law therefore of *Tiberius* being put into the mildest form that could be, commanded all the rich Possessors of this Land to surrender it, being paid an Equivalent out of the Treasury. *The Agrarian Law.*

But tho' this reasonable and just Law was extreamly pleasing to the People, yet it stirr'd up the Rancour and Malice of the Wealthy. They endeavour'd therefore to persuade the People, that this Law led to the Eversion of the Commonwealth, and the Destruction of Liberty; but *Tiberius*, whose Eloquence could support a bad Cause, easily convinc'd the People, in so good a Cause, that these foolish Suggestions were altogether groundless.

*Mar-*

*Marcus Octavius* was one of his Collegues in the Tribuneship, who being won by the contrary Party, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of conſiderable quantities of this Land, oppos'd *Tiberius* in the promoting this Law with all his Force and Endeavours. *Tiberius* being highly incens'd with this, quits the former Bill, and brings in another, which oblig'd the Rich to ſurrender this Land without any Conſideration at all. This occaſion'd many Conteſts betwixt *Octavius* and him, till it came to that height, that *Tiberius* made a Decree, That no Magiſtrate of the City ſhould act till this *Agrarian* Law was paſt. He immediately ſhut up the Exchequer, and ſeal'd it with his Seal, ſo that the Quæſtors or Treaſurers could neither take any Mony out of the Treaſury, or put any in. The Magiſtrates, afraid of diſobeying his Orders, deſiſted from acting in their ſeveral Offices; ſo that the Wealthy put on Mourning, and went into the *Forum* in a ſorrowful poſture, contriving how they might diſpatch *Tiberius* out of the way. But finding, that as long as *Octavius* oppos'd him, he ſtrove in vain to do Juſtice to his Country, after he had endeavour'd to diſſuade him to no purpoſe, he propos'd the depoſing him from his Tribuneſhip; of which the People depriv'd him when he had been obſtinate to all Entreaties. Thus carrying the Law in ſpight of the oppoſition of the Rich, three Commiſſioners were choſen to ſee the Land equally divided, that is, *Tiberius* himſelf, his Father-in-Law *Appius Claudius*, and his Brother *Caius Gracchus*.

About this time, King *Attalus* dying, his Will was brought to *Rome* by the *Pergamenians*, by which the Roman People were left his Heirs; upon this, *Tiberius* propos'd a Law, That all the ready-Money left by the King ſhould be divided among the poorer People, to enable them to cultivate the Ground now divided among them, ſaying, *That the People only, not the Senate, had the Right of diſpoſing of theſe Things.*

*A Malicious Fiction of* Pompey *againſt* Tiberius

The Senate being highly provok'd at this Conduct of *Tiberius*, *Pompeius* ſtood up in the Senate, and ſaid, *That being his Neighbour, he had the opportunity of knowing that* Eudemus *the* Pergamenian *had preſented* Tiberius *with a* Crown *and* Purple Robe; intimating by this, that *Tiberius* was to be e're long King of *Rome*. *Metellus* accus'd him of walking the Streets at midnight with Torches and a Train of Scoundrels; *Titus Arminius*, a mighty Man at puzling Queſtions, accus'd him of depoſing a Magiſtrate, that had always been look'd on as inviolable. But this and all Objections of this nature he remov'd in an excellent Oration to the People, in which he ſhew'd, that the Tribune being made

made for the People, ceas'd to be ſo when he oppos'd their Intereſt; that there is nothing ſo ſacred, but is capable of being apply'd to other things, and therefore the Tribuneſhip ought to be ſubject to the Votes of that People, who gives the Power and Sacredneſs to it.

He, after this, attempts other Laws, as ſhortning the time of ſerving in the Wars, granting Appeals from the Judges to the People, adding an equal number of *Plebeians* to the Senators, who ſate as Judges. Not being able to carry theſe Laws, he adjourn'd the Court. *Tiberius* went into the *Forum*, and with Tears in his Eyes made his Addreſſes to the People, and let them know, that his Enemies had enter'd into ſeveral Conſpiracies to murder him in the Night, on which the People in Tents watch'd his Houſe all Night.

The People being aſſembl'd in the *Capitol*, he was a while deterr'd from meeting them there by a South-ſayer or Divine, by Birds and various ill Omens, till *Blaſſius* perſuaded him from the Superſtition, when he went to the *Capitol*, whence many running to call him, adviſ'd him to make haſte, all things there going very proſperouſly. He was there receiv'd with univerſal Applauſe; but when *Mutius* again propos'd the Laws, the preſſing of the People into the *Capitol* made ſuch a Confuſion, that no Order was obſerv'd.

In the height of this Buſtle, *Flavius Flaccus*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, let *Tiberius* know, that the Rich Men had arm'd their Servants and Dependants, and deſign'd to murder him. Upon this, thoſe that were about him tuck'd up their Gowns, broke the Serjeants Halberts, and with the pieces reſolv'd to oppoſe the Aſſailants. Thoſe at a diſtance wondering, and demanding the Cauſe of this Diſorder, *Tiberius*, ſenſible that they could not hear him, pointed to his Head, by that expreſſing the Danger he was in: His Enemies taking notice of that Action, ran to the Senate-houſe, and told 'em, that *Tiberius* deſir'd the People to put a Crown on his Head. Tiberius *calumniated.*

The Conſul replying to *Naſica*, That *he would not be guilty of an unjuſt Action, nor put a* Roman *to death without Trial, or ſuffer* Tiberius *to go unpuniſh'd, if he did any thing contrary to Law*; *Naſica* on this aroſe from his Seat in a great Paſſion, *Since the Conſul* (ſays he) *neglects it, let every one who will defend the Laws follow me.* So throwing his Gown over his Head, and many following him, he went into the Capitol, and with Clubs (the Feet of Stools and Chairs) made towards *Tiberius*, who finding his Friends flie, endeavour'd by

Flight

Flight to preserve his own Life; but falling by the way, *Publius Satureius* a Tribune, gave him the first Blow, which *Lucius Rufus* seconded, till he was dispatch'd, in the thirtieth Year of his age.

*His Death*

In this Tumult were 300 Men kill'd with Clubs, &c. no Warlike Instrument being made use of. This was the first Dispute betwixt the Senate and People where any Blood was shed.

After his Death they poorly insulted his Body, and denied it to his Brother, who design'd to give it only a Nocturnal Funeral, but threw it with the other Bodies into the *Tiber*. Soon after, many of the Friends of *Tiberius* were murder'd and banish'd; but, to pacifie the People, they suffer'd the Division of the Land to go on, and put *Publius Crassus*, a Relation of the *Gracchi* by Marriage, in the Place of *Tiberius*, to take care of the Division. *Nasica*, afraid to stay at home, was sent Legate into *Asia*, to avoid the Rage of the People; but Providence found him there; for, wandering full of Discontent, he died near *Pergamus*.

The

# The LIFE of *CAIUS GRACCHUS.*

*CAIUS* was very young when his Brother was murder'd, not exceeding the age of Twenty-one, being Nine Years younger than *Tiberius*. After his Brother's Death, either out of Grief, or out of Dread of his Enemies, or else to throw the greater Odium upon 'em, he never came into the *Forum*, but liv'd a quiet and retir'd Life. He was extreamly averse to Sloath, Effeminacy, Pleasure, and Avarice; but applying himself to the study of Eloquence, he gave Suspicion that he did not alwaies intend to live so obscurely: For this reason the Grandees endeavour'd all they could to hinder him from ever being chosen Tribune of the People, whose Affection to him was discover'd in their Satisfaction to hear him plead so well for his Friend *Bettius*, impeach'd of High Misdemeanour.

He was soon after elected *Quæstor*, and oblig'd to go into *Sardinia* with *Orestes* the Consul, to the extream satisfaction of his Enemies, and at the same time agreeable to his own Desires, being a Man of Courage, and Skill in War, as well as in the *Forum*. Besides, by this Voyage he avoided ascending the *Rostra* on the Importunities of his Friends, for he was a little apprehensive of that particular.

Being come into *Sardinia*, he surpass'd the Younger in Actions against the Enemy, and Obedience to his superiour Officer; and the Elder in Discretion, Frugality and Industry. In a cold and sickly Winter, by his Address in going about to the Cities of *Sardinia*, he prevail'd with them to cloath the *Roman* Army, after they had not only refus'd the Consul, but were clear'd of the Burthen by the *Romans* themselves.

This Service, tho' so considerable, was not so grateful to the Senators as it ought to be, because it was a Promise of his future Popularity. For this Reason they design'd to make him stay longer in *Sardinia*; which *Caius* understanding, went immediately to *Rome*. And when he was accus'd before the Censors, for leaving the Province before the Consul,

ſul, he clear'd himſelf of all theſe Imputations in an Oration; and being again accus'd of having a Hand in the Conſpiracy about *Fregella*, but he entirely clear'd himſelf of theſe things, as being wholly innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and made what Intereſt he could to be choſe Tribune of the People. The Nobility made all the Oppoſition they could againſt his Election, yet the People came from all parts of *Italy* to Vote for him; and the Field being not capacious enough, they gave their Voices from the very tops of the Houſes. However, the Quality ſo far prevail'd, as to return him not the firſt, but fourth Tribune; yet in the Conduct and Management of his Office, his Addreſs and Eloqence made him appear as the firſt; his Collegues being much inferiour to him in Parts.

*He is choſe Tribune of the People.*

He us'd, on all occaſions, to remind the People of what had happen'd to his Brother, againſt the inviolable Dignity of his Poſt. And having mov'd them by ſuch Diſcourſes, he propos'd two Laws. The firſt was, *That no Man depriv'd of any Magiſtracy by the People, is capable of obtaining any other Offiee.* The ſecond, *That any Magiſtrate, who ſhould condemn a* Roman *without a Tryal, the People ſhall take Cognizance of it.*

One of theſe Laws was directed againſt *M. Octavius*, the other againſt *Popilius*, that baniſh'd the Friends of *Tiberius*, who conſulted his own ſafety by flying out of *Italy*. The former Law *Caius* abrogated at the deſire of his Mother *Cornelia*, which was agreeable to the People, by whom ſhe was extreamly belov'd, both for her Father's and Childrens ſake, and who ſet up a Statue in Braſs, to her inſcrib'd, *To* Cornelia *the Mother of the* Gracchi. He after propos'd ſeveral other Laws, which encreas'd the Power of the People, and leſſen'd that of the Senate.

The firſt was about the Public Lands, that were to be divided among the poor Citizens. Another for cloathing the Army without diminſhing their Pay, and that none ſhould be bound to go to the Wars under ſeventeen. Another gave a Vote to all the *Italians* in all Elections. Another for the ſelling of Corn at a lower Price to the Poor. Another for retrenching the Power of the Senate in Matters of Judicature; adding three hundred Knights to the three hundred Senators in Judicial Affairs. His Diligence, Diſpatch, and Addreſs was ſo great, that his very Enemies admir'd him, and the Senate it ſelf conſulted with him in many things, which he always advis'd in ſuch a manner, that he never derogated from the Dignity of that Body. He was always ſurrounded with Labourers, Artificers, Meſſengers, Officers, Soldiers, and

and Scholars; with whom tho' he convers'd with Affability, yet he ſtill preſerv'd his Majeſty and Gravity. He did many things in behalf of the Provinces, and took peculiar Care of the Highways, Paving ſome with Stone, Levelling the unev'n with Brides, ſo as to make them Uſeful and Pleaſant.

Theſe things gaining him great Intereſt, he got *Fannius* choſen Conſul, and was himſelf, without ſeeking it, elected Tribune again.

But the Senate fearing his Power, apply'd themſelves by a new Artifice to rob him of the Peoples Hearts. One of his Collegues was *Livius Druſus*, of Eminent Family and Parts, as well as Riches and Intereſt. The Senate reſolv'd to gratify *Druſus* in all things, ſo that he might inſinuate himſelf into the Good-will of the People; and to that end, they prevail'd with him to oppoſe *Caius Gracchus* in all things. Thus *Caius* propoſing two Colonies of the better ſort of People, *Druſus* propos'd twelve of the moſt ſcoundrel ſort, and carry'd it. And doing many things of this nature, the Power of *Caius* by degrees grew leſs. That which added to this, was the ſudden Death of *Scipio Africanus*, not without ſuſpicion of foul Play; whence it was inſinuated, that *Fulvius*, a Friend of *Caius*, was the Murtherer, by the Inſtigation of *Caius* himſelf.

The Senate in the mean while decreed, that *Carthage* ſhould be rebuilt and new inhabited; and *Caius* was deputed to go into *Africa* to ſee this Decree put in Execution; which he perform'd in ſeventy days, giving it the Name of *Junonia*, and return'd to *Rome*, whence his Abſence could not be ſuffer'd by Reaſon of the Proſecution of his Friend *Fulvius* by *Druſus*, and that *Lucius Hoſtilius* was like to be choſen Conſul, which would put a Period to his Power, that was already very much declining. Carthage *new Built.*

He endeavour'd to propoſe other Laws to paſs, for which a vaſt number of People were got together from all parts, but the Senate prevail'd with the Conſul to order all to depart who were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, prohibiting all the Allies to appear there during that time. *Caius* publiſh'd an Edict on the contrary, and order'd the Allies to ſtay, aſſuring them of his help; which yet he perform'd not, that he might not give his Enemies an occaſion of an Inſurrection, which was what they deſir'd.

*Opimius* was no ſooner Conſul, but he abrogated ſome of his Laws. But another day when the Conſul was going to annull more, they came to the *Capitol*, the Rites and Ceremonies of the Sacrifice being perform'd, *Quintus Attylius* a Serjeant, bid *Fulvius* and his People ſtand aſide, ſaying, *Ye Factious*

*Citizens make way for Honeſt Men*; and then held up his Naked Arm by way of Scorn and Contempt. Upon this they preſently ſlew him. This *Caius* condemn'd; but *Opimius* took hold of this occaſion to revenge himſelf on the contrary Party; he therefore order'd his own Partizans to come the next day with Arms, and bring each two Servants with them. *Fulvius* on his ſide was not idle, and therefore muſters his Men together. The People having guarded the Houſe of *Caius* all the Night, the next Morning he went out in his Gown, notwithſtanding the paſſionate Entreaties of his Wife, unarm'd. And coming into the *Forum*, *Fulvius* ſent his Son as an Herauld to *Opimius* to propoſe an Accommodation, which would not be admitted but upon an entire ſubmiſſion to the Senate. He ſent him again, but then *Opimius* had him ſeiz'd and committed, and with his Foot-Soldiers and *Cretan Archers* fell on *Fulvius* and his Party, and gall'd them ſo, that they ſoon put 'em to flight. *Fulvius* abſconded ſome time in an old *Bagnio*; but being diſcover'd, he and his Eldeſt Son were ſlain together. But *Caius* who encounter'd with none, was obſerv'd to be very much concern'd for theſe Outrages, which he could not cure, and then retir'd into the Temple of *Diana*, where he would have kill'd himſelf, but was hinder'd by his Friends *Pomponius* and *Lucinius*. He is ſaid to have pray'd to the Goddeſs, that the *Romans* might be in perpetual Slavery, ſince they deſerted the Defenders of their Liberty. *Caius* at laſt endeavouring to eſcape, got as far as the Grove of the Furies, where his Slave *Philocrates* firſt kill'd him, and then himſelf; tho' others ſay, that being overtaken, the Slave clung ſo faſt to his Maſter, that they could not wound *Caius* but through his Slave.

*Hideath.*

There being a Proclamation before the Fight, that whoever brought the Head of *Fulvius* or *Caius*, ſhould have their weight in Gold; *Septimulius*, a Friend of *Opimius*, took that of *Caius* from one of the Murderers, and carry'd it on a Pike himſelf to *Opimius*, and weighing it, it was found to weigh ſeventeen Pound. All the Bodies, to the number of 3000, were thrown into the *Tiber*, their Eſtates confiſcated, and their Wives forbid putting on Mourning. They dealt yet more cruelly with *Licinia*, robbing her of her Jointure.

*Opimius*, after this, being ſent Ambaſſadour to *Iugurtha*, took Bribes, of which being convicted, he languiſh'd out an infamous Old-age, and was hated by the People. But the Love of the People for the *Gracchi* was ſoon evident; they erected their Statues, conſecrated the Places of their Death, offering the firſt Fruits there, and People came thither on Devotion, as to the Temples of the Gods.

THE

# THE COMPARISON OF *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*, WITH *Agis* and *Cleomenes*.

THE *Gracchi* were the moſt Virtuous of all the *Romans* of their Age; *Agis* and *Cleomenes* ſeem to have had better natural Parts, tho' they wanted the Advantage of a good Education, living in the Corrupt and Degenerate Age of their State: But the *Gracchi*, while yet Virtue was in Faſhion, the Fathers of the *Greek* Heroes, had different Morals, yet their Zeal for the good of their City was not tam'd by its decay in Virtue and Honour. The *Romans* would take no Bribes, but *Agis* was ſo far from that, that he gave the Public 600 Talents of his own Eſtate. The *Gracchi* were noted for repairing Cities and Highways, and *Tiberius* for the diviſion of Lands to the poor *Romans*; and *Caius* for adding three hundred Knights to the Senatorian Judges. The *Greeks*, eſpecially *Cleomenes*, made a thorow Reformation at once, and free'd their Country from all Grievances, taking away that Change which was the Cauſe of all their Calamities. Men of the firſt Quality always oppos'd the *Gracchi*; *Agis* and *Cleomenes* protected and ſupported the Laws of *Lycurgus*, confirm'd by *Appollo*. The Efforts of the *Gracchi* brought no Addition to the Grandeur of *Rome*; but thoſe of *Cleomenes* reſtor'd *Lacedæmon* to the Rule of all the *Peloponneſus*. The *Gracchi* were both ſlain

in endeavouring to make their Eſcape; but *Agis* willingly ſubmitted to his Fate. *Cleomenes* fell by his own Sword.

The Heroic Actions of *Cleomenes* may well compare with *Tiberius*'s firſt ſcaling the Wall of *Carthage*; the Peace he concluded before *Numantia*, by which he ſav'd 20000 *Romans*. *Agis* went but faintly to work, deceived by the villany of *Ageſilaus*, and ſo left things unfiniſh'd for want of Manly Reſolution. *Cleomenes* acted more boldly and more unjuſtly, by killing the *Ephori*, whom he might otherwiſe have ſubdu'd. Neither of the *Gracchi* were forward to engage in a Civil War; and the greateſt Crime laid to *Tiberius*, is, the depoſing the Tribune *Octavius*; and *Attylitius* was ſlain unknown to *Caius*. *Cleomenes* ſet the Slaves at Liberty, and govern'd by himſelf, his Brother being only King in Name. He perſuaded *Archidamus* to return home from *Meſſene*, and if he kill'd him not, he never reveng'd his Death; which gave a ſuſpicion that he had a Hand in it.

The *Grecians* were Diſturbers from their Youth, and inclining to Tyrants; the *Romans* had naturally too great a Deſire of Glory and Honour, and too much carry'd away with Heat and Paſſion on the firſt Oppoſition they met with, which hurry'd them ſometimes into raſh Undertakings. In ſhort, *Tiberius* excell'd in all manner of Virtue; *Agis* was guilty of the feweſt Miſcarriages; in Action and Boldneſs *Cleomenes* much excell'd *Caius*

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The

# The LIFE of *DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES.*

*Demetrius* was the Son of *Antigonus*, by *Stratonice*, the Beautiful Daughter of *Correus*; tho' he was not quite ſo tall as his Father, yet of the largeſt Proportion of Men; and his Face was ſo exactly Beautiful, that the Painters and Statuaries of his Time were not able, from their own Ideas, to form any thing ſo perfect. There was in his Countenance ſomething ſoft, and yet fierce, which appear'd at the ſame time charmingly tender, and commandingly aſtoniſhing, irreſiſtibly challenging our Veneration and Paſſionate Kindneſs; the mixture of Majeſty, Youth, Beauty, and Vivacity giving him the moſt noble and auguſt Air in the World. The Accompliſhments of his Mind added to thoſe of his Body, made him the moſt excellent of Kings, either in his Diverſions or his Serious Affairs, following both with equal Application.

His Love for his Parents was Zealous and Sincere, ſpringing from his own Piety, not Fear; the Effect of his Inclinations, not their Power. His Honour and Kindneſs to his Friends is apparent in his Conduct to *Mithridates* the Son of *Ariobarzanes*, who was of his own Age, Educated in his Father's Court, and ſtrictly united to him in Friendſhip; *Antigonus*, alarm'd by a Dream, reſolves his Death; which *Demetrius* willing to prevent, wrote with his Javeline on the Sand, *Flie Mithridates*. He being ſenſible, by what *Demetrius* had done, that his Life was in danger from *Antigonus*, fled away the following Night for *Cappadocia*, owing his Eſcape of Death to the Friendſhip and Generous Sentiments of *Demetrius*.

*Ptolomy* falling into *Syria*, and making a great Progreſs with his Arms, *Antigonus* ſent his Son *Demetrius*, not yet twenty two years of age, againſt him with an Army. But as this was his firſt General Command he had executed in the Wars, ſo he without any Diſmay, tho' a Novice, march'd againſt ſo experienc'd a Soldier as *Ptolomy*, who had learn'd the Art of War under the Banners of *Alexander the Great*, but his Bravery met not with the Succeſs he expected, being

vanquiſh'd by *Ptolomy* near *Gaza*, but made his Retreat with the loſs of 5000 of his braveſt Troops, and 8000 taken Priſoners, with all his Arms, Ammunition, and his Camp, which was very rich. But *Ptolomy* ſends the Spoils and the Priſoners back to him with this Meſſage, *That he Fought not for Plunder, but Glory and Empire.* On the Receipt of theſe Things, *Demetrius*, vanquiſh'd more by this Generoſity than the former Victory, cry'd out after a little Pauſe of Surprize and Confuſion, *Ye Gods! grant me the ſame Opportunity of returning this Complement to* Ptolomy.

*Demetrius* not diſmay'd with this Overthrow, begg'd, and obtain'd of his Father, that he might once more command the Army againſt *Ptolomy*; whoſe Army being led by *Cilles*, was ſurpriz'd and beaten by *Demetrius*, before he knew there was any Enemy near him, *Cilles* and 7000 of his Men being made Priſoners of War, and his rich Camp taken; but that which moſt pleas'd him in this Victory, was the Power his Fathers Grant (of his entire diſpoſal of the Spoils and Priſoners) gave him of a generous Revenge on *Ptolomy*; for he immediately ſent for *Cilles*, and told him, *That himſelf and all the other Priſoners were free*, and loading them with Preſents, deſir'd him to tell *Ptolomy*, *That this ſmall Preſent was an Acknowledgment of the Favours he had done him at* Gaza.

This Victory was ſo cloſely follow'd by *Demetrius*, that *Ptolomy* was ſoon forc'd to quit *Syria*. The News of which Succeſs was extreamly agreeable to *Antigonus*, who yet was oblig'd ſoon to loſe his Company by the Expedition againſt the *Nabathean Arabians*, to reduce them to Obedience, where having paſt unexpreſſible difficulties of Deſarts and want of Water, he beat their Army, and taking 700 Camels laden with Water, refreſh'd his Army, and retreated from a Country more ſavage than its People.

Ptolomy *forc'd out of* Syria.

After this, having Intelligence that *Seleucus* was march'd againſt the *Indians*, believ'd, that he had left *Meſopotamia* but ill guarded, paſs'd the *Euphrates* with his Army, and laid Siege to *Babylon* before they heard of his Approach, having taken an Important Citadel or Fortreſs, built by *Seleucus* for the Security of that Town. Unable to carry which, he put a Garriſon of 7000 Men into the Fortreſs, and return'd with his Army towards Home, his Men living at Diſcretion in the Countries through which they paſs'd. But hearing that *Ptolomy* beſieg'd *Halicarnaſſus*, by the Swiftneſs of his continual Marches he made *Ptolomy* retire with Precipitation, and ſo deliver'd that City.

*Deme-*

*Demetrius* aiming at nobler things, reſolves on a thing worthy a Generous Prince, which is, to deliver *Greece* from their Slavery to *Caſſander* and *Ptolomy*, who had totally ſuppreſs'd their Liberties, and this at his own Expence, with the Approbation of his Father *Antigonus*. Having therefore prepar'd a Fleet, and all other things neceſſary for the carrying on ſo noble an Expedition, he determin'd to ſet *Athens* firſt at Liberty, which was at that time oppreſs'd by the Tyranny of *Caſſander*. But *Demetrius* with a Fleet of 250 Galleys got by ſurprize into the *Pyræum*, and declaring, That he came to deliver the *Athenians* from the Tyranny of *Caſſander*, and reſtore its ancient Laws and Liberties, made the People ſoon expel the Garriſon, and deſire *Demetrius* to come into the City; but he reſolv'd, before he comply'd with his own as well as their Deſires, in that particular, he would compleat their Delivery. Leaving therefore Men enough to block up *Munichia*, he ſail'd for *Megara*, where *Caſſander* had alſo a Garriſon. During this Siege, hearing that *Crateſipolis*, the Widow of *Polypercon*, was at *Patras*, fam'd for her Beauty more than her Virtue, he reſolv'd to venture by himſelf to her Embraces, being aſſur'd of her kind Inclinations towards him. This Adventure being made known to the Enemy, he very narrowly eſcap'd being taken by them. But returning to *Megara*, he ſtorm'd the City, but ſuffer'd not his Soldiers to Plunder it, driving the Garriſon only out; he reſtor'd that, as he had *Athens*, to its Laws and Liberties. Hence he ſail'd back to *Athens*, and ſoon took and demoliſh'd the Fort of *Munichia*, and then entring *Athens*, he ſummon'd the People together, and declar'd, That they were free, and might enjoy their ancient Laws and Liberties. The *Athenians* ſenſible of ſo uncommon a Favour, let their Gratitude tranſport them to Extravagancies that could not be of any long continuance, becauſe too violent, for they decreed him and his Father Divine Honours.

*Others deliver'd*

Being corrupted by this and other Flatteries, he began to indulge himſelf in Luxury and Pleaſures. He marry'd *Eurydice*, of the Race of *Miltiades*; the People of *Athens* were highly pleas'd with this Match, becauſe ſhe was a Native of their City, tho' he was never confin'd to one Wife or one Concubine, having many of both, *Philla* the Widow of *Craterus* being the Wife he paid the moſt Deference to, but not the moſt Love, there being a great Diſparity in their Ages.

In

In the midst of his Joys and his Pleasures, he is order'd by his Father to direct his Course to *Cyprus* against *Ptolomy*. Tho' *Demetrius* was vext, that he was oblig'd to make War any where else before he had perfected the Liberty of *Greece*, yet he immediately obey'd his Father's Orders, and sail'd directly for *Cyprus*; where having beat *Menelaus* the Brother of *Ptolomy*, he afterwards in a Sea-fight obliges himself to flie away with only eight of his swiftest Vessels, leaving 70 Galleys in the Hands of *Demetrius*, with all his Gallions or Tenders, which carry'd his Treasure, Women, Friends, Officers, Ensigns, and Ammunition which he had provided for the War, the rest being sunk.

*His Victory over Ptolomy and Menelaus.*

In one of these Ships was *Lamia*, a Lady celebrated for her Beauty, as well as her admirable Hand on the Lute, and excellence of Voice, by which, tho' past the Noon of her Glory, she charm'd all that heard her, and gave her such a Power over *Demetrius*, that it was said, That all other Ladies were in Love with *Demetrius*, but *Demetrius* with *Lamia*.

After this *Menelaus* surrendering himself, Ships, and Men, on his approach to *Salamine*, he gave Liberty to the living, and bury'd the dead; and presented his *Athenians* with Arms for 1200 Men.

*Demetrius* in the time of Peace gave himself entirely up to Luxury and Pleasures, without the least curb or disguise; but when he once enter'd War, he chang'd his Pleasure so into Labour, that forgetting all his wanton Dalliances, he thought of and apply'd himself wholly to Military Affairs, building of Ships, and inventing Machines. And tho' he was an extraordinary General in the Field, yet was he more excellent in the contrivance of Ships and Warlike Instruments, which excell'd so much in Art and Magnificence, as discover'd a Royal Engineer. Among his Engines, that was the most remarkable which he call'd his *Stormer of Towns*. The Basis of it was exactly square, each side containing twenty-four yards, and the Height was thirty three, growing still, like a Cone or Spire, narrower to the top: In it were several Chambers fill'd with Men, with Loop-holes, towards the Enemy, whence they discharg'd their Arrows against the Besieg'd; it was mov'd forwards with a great deal of noise, but without the least tottering, being exactly poiz'd on its Basis.

*His Warlike Engines.*

This

This Engine he made uſe of at the Siege of *Rhodes*, who had ſided with *Ptolomy* in the Wars betwixt him and that Prince. The *Rhodians* made a vigorous Reſiſtance, till the *Athenian* Ambaſſadours came and mediated an Agreement, that ſo he might be at Liberty to come to their Aſſiſtance againſt *Caſſander*. The *Rhodians* by this Treaty were oblig'd to aſſiſt *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* againſt all their Enemies but *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*. *Demetrius* therefore ſetting Sail with 330 Ships, and a great Land Army, arriving in time, he ſoon rais'd the Seige, fell on *Caſſander*'s Rear, and at the Streights of *Thermopylæ* routed his Army with a total overthrow.

After this Defeat of *Caſſander*, *Heraclea*, *Phylen*, and *Panacton* ſurrender'd voluntarily to him, tho' Garriſon'd by *Caſſander*, the two laſt of which being the Defence of *Attica*, he gave freely to the *Athenians*; who in Return order'd him a Lodging behind *Minerva*'s Temple, in the Apartment of the *Nuns* or *Virgin Votaries* of that Goddeſs. But *Demetrius* had little regard to the Holineſs of the Place or Virgins, ſo that he was not content to have his lewd Revels with the Women of the Town, but abus'd even the handſom Boys and Youths whom he had a Fancy to. But to paſs over his Whores, *Chryſeis*, *Lamia*, *Dema*, *Anticyra*, and other Ladies of common Fame, it may ſuffice to give one Inſtance of *Damocles*, a Youth of incomparable Beauty and Virtue: For when he could not debauch him either by Prayers, Preſents, nor Threats, going to a private Bath, he was ſurpriz'd there by the laſcivious Prince; the modeſt Youth finding no other way of avoiding the Infamous Force which was offer'd him, leap'd into the Cauldron full of boiling Water, and ſo by the terrible Death avoided the Criminal Aſſaults of *Demetrius*. *His Luſt.*

His Criminal Amour with *Cleonetus* the Son of *Cleomedon*, made him do an Act which very much leſſen'd his Reputation in *Athens*, for at his Requeſt he wrote a Letter to that City to remit the Fine of *Cleomedon*, amounting to fifty Talents; on which the *Athenians* paſt a Law, That no Citizen for the future ſhould make any ſuch Applications to *Demetrius*; but finding him reſent it with ſome menacing Words, they reſcinded that Law, put ſome of the promoters of it to Death, and baniſh'd others, and made a Decree, That all the Orders of *Demetrius* ſhould be ſacred, both to Gods and Men.

After

After this, he carry'd his Arms into the *Peloponnesus*; the Terror of his Name put the Enemy to flight, subduing all *Arcadia*, except *Mantinea*, and *Argos*, *Sicyon* and *Corinth* were surrender'd on Composition.

The Festivals of *Juno* being now to be celebrated at *Argos*, he resolv'd to be present; and to make them the more solemn, he marry'd the Daughter of *Eacus* King of the *Molossians*, and Sister to *Pyrrhus*. A little after, he summon'd the *Grecians* together at the *Isthmus*, where they unanimously chose him Captain-General of all *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander the Great* had been before, equal to whom he thought himself, above them indeed in this, that *Alexander* never assum'd the stile of *King of Kings*, which both *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* did.

*He marrys* Deidamia.

Being now, on his Return to *Athens*, he desir'd to be made Priest of *Ceres* without the usual Methods of Initiation: To comply with this, they by Decree made the Month of *March* *November*, and then made it *August*, that the lesser and greater Mysterys might be celebrated according to Custom, and his Desires not delay'd. But that which most vex'd them, was his exacting of them two hundred and fifty Talents, which when rais'd with difficulty, he gave to *Lamia* and his other Whores, to buy Paint and Cloaths, *&c.* The Power of this Woman over him was as odious as notorious, that when *Lysimachus* shew'd the marks of the Lion, which he kill'd when he fought with one by the Command of *Alexander the Great*, to the Ambassadours of *Demetrius*, they said, *And our King has in his Neck the Scars of a* Lamia, *a Beast not less Furious and Dangerous than a* Lion.

*The turn of the Fortune of* Demetrius.

To this time *Demetrius* met with the smiles of Fortune in almost all his Undertakings, but henceforward we shall find her much more fickle, and never smiling long on his Actions and Conduct. For the Insolence and Pride of *Antigonus* and his Son had now provok'd the Envy and Hatred of all the other Kings, whom they had disoblig'd, who entring into a Confederacy, with united Force fell on *Antigonus*: On Advice of which, *Demetrius* abandon'd *Greece*, and made haste to the Assistance of his Father. The Armies being now engag'd, *Demetrius*, attended by some of his stoutest of the *Cavalry*, fell on *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus* with that Force, that he was not able to withstand him. *Demetrius* transported with this Success, pursu'd that Body too far, and so lost the Victory; for he was by the Enemy cut off from the Relief of his Father, who was at last kill'd by the Darts and Javelins that flew at him and his Men. The Battel being thus lost, with five Thousand Foot and

and four Thousand Horse, *Demetrius* made a hasty Flight towards *Athens*; but his Expectations of Succour there soon vanish'd; for when he came to the *Cyclades*, Ambassadours from *Athens* met him, and let him know, that the *Athenians* had made a Decree, that no King for the future should be admitted into their City. Tho' this was a Blow that touch'd him to the quick, yet he dissembled his Concern, and only desir'd them to send him his Fleet which he had left in the *Pyræum*; which having receiv'd, and finding that his Affairs in the *Peloponnesus* were in a very bad condition, he sail'd to the *Chersonesus*, and making successful Inroads into the Country of *Lysimachus*, he wasted it with Fire and Sword. Having by these means recruited his shatter'd Army, and given his Affairs a more prosperous Face, Ambassadours come from *Seleucus*, to demand his beautiful Daughter *Stratonice* in Marriage. Pleas'd with the unexpected Offer, he with his Daughter and Wife *Phila*; goes into *Syria* and landing on the Coast of *Cilicia* he wasted all the Country of *Pliſtarchus*, the Brother of *Cassander*, taking the City of *Quindon*, and in it twelve hundred Talents, and then embarking himself and Troops, he pursu'd his Voyage.

Being come to an Anchor on the Coast of *Syria*, he found *Seleucus*, and the meeting betwixt them was equally joyful, and without distrust. These Feasts and Rejoicings were continu'd for many days, when *Seleucus* having marry'd *Stratonice*, took his leave of *Demetrius*, and went with his beautiful Bride to *Antioch* in all Pomp and State, fit for the Persons, and Occasion. *Deidamia* coming by Sea to meet him in *Cilicia*, which in his Return he had reduc'd, the Hardship of the Voyage gave her a Distemper, of which she soon dy'd; *Seleucus* in the mean while had reconcil'd *Ptolomy* to him, and prevail'd with him to give him his Daughter *Ptolomaida* in Marriage.

Having now Intelligence that *Lachares* had by Seditious Practices usurp'd the Tyranny of *Athens*, he immediately set sail for *Greece*.

And tho' his Loss in his Voyage, by the violence of a great Storm, of many of his Ships and Men, delay'd the compleating the End of his Expedition, yet with the Troops that escap'd with him he laid Siege to *Messena*, while his scatter'd Fleet was getting together. Here his Jaw was shot thro' by a Dart from the Town, which being by the Care of his Surgeon soon cured, he recover'd many of the Cities and Towns which had revolted from him. Then making Incursions into *Attica*, he took *Eleusina* and *Rhamnus*, terrified the *Ægyptian* Fleet sent by *Ptolomy* to the assistance of *Lachares*, back to their Country. *Lachares* flies *Athens* for his

own

own ſecurity, and *Demetrius* reduces the *Athenians* to ſeek any Conditions from him, after they had by a Decree made it Death to mention any Treaty with him; for the City was reduc'd to ſo great an Extremity and Famine, that a Father and Son quarrel'd, and had a Scuffle, about a dead Rat that happen'd to drop from the Ceiling into the Room before 'em. Theſe Streights, and no proſpect of Relief, made them admit of *Demetrius*, and ſurrender at diſcretion.

When he had enter'd the Town, he ſummon'd the People into the Theatres, and ſurrounds 'em with arm'd Men; but when they expected nothing elſe but a bloody Reſentment of their Affronts, he enters the Stage, and accuſes them in a Speech for Ingratitude, but receives 'em again into his Favour, and gives among 'em 100000 Buſhels of Wheat; and reſtoring again their Laws, advanc'd ſuch Magiſtrates as he thought were moſt popular.

*His Generoſity to the* Athenians.

This generous Conduct produc'd as extraordinary Praiſe, and by the Decree of the People the *Pyræum* and *Munychia* were put into his hands, and garriſon'd by him; but by his own Authority he put a Garriſon into the *Muſæum*, on purpoſe to curb that Levity which had before been ſo very evident.

Soon after, marching againſt the *Lacedemonians*, their King *Archidamus* meets him with an Army near *Mantinea*, but was there overthrown by *Demetrius*, and purſued into *Laconia*, in a ſecond Battel totally routed, 500 *Spartans* being taken Priſoners, and 200 kill'd on the ſpot, almoſt in ſight of the City, which now could not have been preſerv'd from the Conqueror, but by that Fortune which now was ſo fickle in her Favours to *Demetrius*; who juſt then receiv'd Advice, that *Lyſimachus* with a mighty Army had taken all the Cities he had in *Aſia*; and, that *Ptolomy* over-running all *Cyprus*, had beſieg'd his Mother and Children in *Salamina*.

But Fortune at the ſame time flatter'd him with Hopes on the other hand; for *Caſſander* being dead, his Sons *Antipater* and *Alexander* falling out, and the former having kill'd his Mother *Theſſalonice*, the later ſends for *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* to his aſſiſtance; *Pyrrhus* came ſooneſt, and driving out *Antipater*, poſſeſs'd himſelf of that part of *Macedon*. *Alexander* fearing the like from *Demetrius*, meets him at *Deinon*, and with many Compliments thanks him for his good Intentions, but ſecretly ſought to murder him; which *Demetrius* finding out, reſolv'd to reward his Treachery by another: So that after ſeveral Stratagems on both ſides, *Alexander* being invited to Supper, and alone, was kill'd by the Guard of *Demetrius*.

After

After *Alexander*'s Death he eaſily obtain'd the Army and Crown of *Macedon*, and that with ſo general Applauſe and Satisfaction, as was the wonder of all; tho' it was in ſome meaſure the Effect of his having married *Phila*, the Grand-Daughter of *Antipater*, who was much belov'd by the *Macedonians*. *Is choſen King of* Macedon.

At the ſame time News is brought him, that *Ptolomy* had honourably diſmiſs'd his Mother and Children with great Preſents; and, that his Daughter *Stratonice* was remarried to *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleuchus*, to whom the Father had given her to ſave his Son's Life, who was dying for Love of her.

*Demetrius* having now not only got *Macedon*, but *Theſſaly*, he went againſt the *Bœotians*, being Maſter of *Athens* and *Megara*, the Keys of the *Peloponneſus*, and divers other Cities. *Cleonimus* flying away on the approach of the terrible Machines of *Demetrius*, the City ſurrender'd to him; but ſoon after revolting, while he was invading *Thrace*, he, after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, took *Thebes*, (having during the Siege chae'd *Pyrrhus* out of *Theſſaly*) but put to death only thirteen of the principal Movers of the Revolt, giving the reſt his Pardon and their Liberty.

Having celebrated the Feſtivals of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Athens*, the *Ætolians* having block'd up the Paſſes of *Delphos*, *Demetrius* return'd into *Macedon*: But being himſelf of a reſtleſs Temper, and knowing his *Macedonians* moſt loyal in Expeditions, led them againſt the *Ætolians*, and having waſted their Country, left his General *Pantachus* the Command of a great part of his Army, to perfect the Conqueſt of the Country: He march'd himſelf with the other part againſt *Pyrrhus*, but by chance, taking two different Routs, *Demetrius* falls into *Epirus*, and *Pyrrhus* attacks *Pantachus*, whom he ſlew with his own Hands.

This Action of *Pyrrhus* won the Hearts of the *Macedonians*, and made 'em cry out, That he renew'd the Memory and Glory of *Alexander*, ſince he diſtinguiſh'd not himſelf by Haughtineſs, the Pomp of Guards, and Troops of Whores, but by Virtue and brave Actions; but, That *Demetrius* wore not only a Diadem, but Gold and Purple Robes, and Golden Shoes: But his hardneſs of Acceſs, and proud Anſwers, diſoblig'd the *Macedonians* moſt, for the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors had two Years attended him for Audience, and at laſt were forc'd to return home without any: Yet one Day he went out, receiv'd all the Petitions that were given him, and rais'd an Expectation of a Grant of the Contents; but coming to the Bridge, he open'd his Lap, where they all were, and let them

*His Insolence.* them fall into the River *Axius*, (which gave the *Macedonians* a great Diſguſt to him) and choſe rather the Name of the *Deſtroyer*, than *Preſerver of Cities*, miſtaking Vice and Virtue, and the Excellence of a King and Hero.

Being now at *Pella*, he fell ſick of a deſperate Diſtemper, the Effect of his Luxury and Intemperance: Encourag'd by this, *Pyrrhus* almoſt over-run *Macedon*; but *Demetrius* recovering, ſoon regain'd all his Country; and, to ſecure himſelf in his other Deſigns, he made a Peace with him: For, having determin'd to recover his Paternal Kingdom, he gave out Commiſſions for raiſing near 100000 Foot, and 12000 Horſe, and with great Application built 500 Galleys, to invade *Aſia*.

Theſe Preparations gave the Alarm to *Seleucus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Lyſimachus*, and made them enter into a Confederacy againſt him; to compleat which, they ſent to *Pyrrhus*, to let him know, that his ſuffering *Demetrius* to accompliſh his Deſigns againſt them, was only to enable him to ruine his own Affairs. *Pyrrhus* was ſoon awak'd by this Remonſtrance, and invaded *Macedon* on the ſide of *Epire*, while *Lyſimachus* did the ſame from *Thrace*, and *Ptolomy* from *Greece*. *Demetrius* therefore leaving his Son *Antigonus* to take care of his Affairs in *Greece* againſt *Ptolomy*, march'd againſt *Lyſimachus*; when hearing that *Pyrrhus* had taken *Berea*, the Soldiers were all in a Mutiny: *Demetrius* therefore apprehending their Love to *Lyſimachus* was the reaſon, march'd againſt *Pyrrhus*, a Stranger and Invader, who had deſtroy'd and ravag'd their Country; but the *Macedonians*, as they approach'd him, grew more inſolent, and deſerted in Parties, till the whole threatned him, if he did not retire; upon which he went to his Tent, put off his Royal Robes, and putting on the Habit of a private Man, not vanquiſh'd nor put to flight by the Enemy, but deſerted by his Men, fled away with a very few Attendants. *Pyrrhus* with his Army coming immediately on, eaſily poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Camp and Soldiers.

*He flies, being deſerted by his Men.*

*Demetrius* retir'd to *Thebes*, and finding the *Athenians* again ungratefully deſerting him in his Diſtreſs, he fell into their Country, beſieg'd them ſo cloſe, that they muſt have ſurrender'd to him, had not the Mediation of *Crateryus* the Philoſopher prevail'd with him to quit the place. When getting a Fleet together, and about Eleven thouſand Men, he reſolv'd once more to try his Fortune: He therefore ſails for *Aſia*, to invade *Caria* and *Lydia*, and raviſh them from *Lyſimachus*; and arriving at *Miletum*, finds there *Eurydice*, the Siſter of his Wife *Phila*, (who had in his late Diſtreſs poyſon'd her ſelf)

and

and with her *Ptolomaida*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy*, formerly betroth'd to him by her Father, whom he there marries: And having celebrated the Nuptials, he ſoon applies himſelf to the War, taking many of the Enemy's Cities by force, and many of 'em voluntarily revolting to him.

*Agathocles* in the mean while, with a great Army, endeavours to ſtop his Progreſs, and tho' he was worſted in all Encounters, ſtreightning him for Proviſions, he was oblig'd to deſign his March into *Phrygia*, to take *Armenia* and *Media*; but he was compel'd by want of Proviſions, the cloſe preſſure of the Army of *Agathocles*, and the Plague, to lay aſide that Deſign; beſides, having loſt ſeveral of his Men in paſſing the River *Lycus*, the Soldiers would not hear of marching that way.

Being reduc'd to great Streights, he was reſolv'd to try the Friendſhip of *Seleucus*; who being mov'd by his Letters, at firſt order'd him to be ſupplied with all things neceſſary for his Army, and ſuitable to his Quality and Diſtreſs: But *Patrocles*, the Confidant of *Seleucus*, rouz'd his Jealouſie, and made him march with a great Army towards *Cilicia* againſt him. *Demetrius*, ſurpriz'd at this ſtrange Turn of the Mind of *Seleucus*, retires with his Men into the moſt inacceſſible places of the Mountain *Taurus*, and ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to deſire a little time to retreat, or Winter Quarters, till the hardſhip of the Weather was over, but all in vain; ſo that *Demetrius* finding himſelf ſurrounded, as in a Toil, flew out, and waſted the Territories of *Seleucus*, and often had the better of him in Encounters: But after various Skirmiſhes, *Seleucus* following him, but avoiding Battel, *Demetrius* reſolves to aſſault his Camp in the Night; but that Deſign being diſcover'd, he endeavour'd to retreat, till the Morning coming on, and *Seleucus* following cloſe, they were oblig'd to engage, and he had the better of his Enemy, till his Men were brought to deſert him, by the fair Words of *Seleucus*; ſo that *Demetrius* was forc'd to flie with a few of his Friends to the Mountain *Amanus*; whence endeavouring in vain to get to his Ships, he ſurrender'd himſelf Priſoner to *Seleucus*, who receiv'd him as a Prince, a Man full of the Glory of his great Actions, and a Relation, having a Royal Tent and Attendants for him. *Surrenders himſelf to* Seleucus

But *Seleucus* being again alarm'd by ſome of his Courtiers, (afraid of the Intereſt *Demetrius* had gotten) that there was Danger in truſting himſelf with him, *Pauſanias* with a Guard of a thouſand Men convey'd him to the Caſtle of *Cherſoneſus* in *Syria*, and not to the Court of *Seleucus*. Yet in this Confinement he had the liberty of Hunting, Hawking,

ing, and other Royal Diverſions, as well as the Attendants of a King, and many Promiſes of Enlargement; which *Demetrius* giving no credit to, but aſſuring himſelf that there was no Hope of Liberty, to ſilence his Solicitudes and Cares, indulg'd himſelf entirely in Feaſting and Drinking, ſending word to his Son *Antigonus* and his Friends in *Greece*, that they ſhould look on him as dead, and not mind any Letters from him, though ſeal'd with his own Signet, but reſerve what of his Empire was left for his Son, and look on him as King.

Having thus ſpent his Life in Pleaſures and Captivity for about three Years, in the 54th Year of his age he fell into a Diſtemper which put an end to his Life.

His Death being known, *Seleucus* was univerſally blam'd for letting him die in Priſon: But his Son *Antigonus* ſailing to meet the Aſhes of his Father, which were coming to him from *Syria*, met 'em with a Royal Fleet about the Iſles of the *Archipelago*, and putting them into an Urn of maſſy Gold, covering 'em with a Regal Crown and Purple, convey'd 'em to *Corinth* in all the Pomp imaginable, and thence carried the Urn to *Demetriada*, leaving the Trophies behind at *Corinth*.

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The

# The LIFE of M. ANTHONY.

THE Father of *M. Anthony* was *Anthony* (sirnam'd the *Cretan*) the Son of the famous Oratour of that Name, murther'd by *Marius*: His Mother was *Julia*, of the Family of the *Cæsar's*, who, after the Death of *Anthony*'s Father, was married to *Lentulus*, who was put to Death by *Cicero* for *Catiline*'s Conspiracy; and this is said to have been the first Rise and Cause of that Hatred and Enmity he bore *Tully*, pretending, contrary to Truth, that the Body of *Lentulus* was denied Funeral Rites.

*The Cause of the Hatred between Cicero, and Anthony.*

*Anthony* was very graceful in his Person, his Forehead spacious, his Nose high, or *Roman*, and his Aspect had alwaies a peculiar Majesty; he was thought to be something like *Hercules* in his Countenance, which confirm'd that old Opinion, that the Family of the *Anthony*'s drew its Original from that Hero, by his Son *Anteon*.

*Anthony* having in his early Year, by his intimacy with *Curio*, faln into strange Excesses of Luxury, and by that means contracted large Debts, to the value of 250 Talents; and by his Familiarity with *Clodius* incurr'd the Displeasure of the rising Party, he travell'd into *Greece*, where he inur'd his Body to Warlike Exercises, and apply'd his Mind to the Study of Eloquence; till *Gabinius* going *Proconsul* into *Syria*, prevail'd with him to go with him Commander of the Horse.

His first Service was against *Aristobulus* of *Judea*, and having first scal'd the Walls of his City, soon after routed him in a pitch'd Battel, taking both him and his Son Prisoners.

This War being ended, *Ptolomy* sollicited *Gabinius* to restore him to his Kingdom, proffering 10000 Talents; which not being able to prevail, *Anthony*'s Persuasions got the King this Assistance, and he himself taking the City of *Pelcusium*, gain'd the most difficult Passes, and made the way to Victory easie. Giving many other Proofs of his Valour and

Military Industry at this time in *Ægypt*, for which he receiv'd both considerable Rewards and Honours; which rendred him the Object of Admiration of the *Ægyptians*, and *Roman* Soldiers. For tho' he was given to Vain-glory, Raillery, Drinking in Public, and Eating with the Common Soldiers, which might have brought Infamy to others, it got him the Hearts of the Army. He was so liberal and munificent to his Friends, Dependants, and Soldiers, that as that alone was able to bear him to Power, so nothing but a thousand Follies could have lost it. (a) Having given a Friend of his 10000000 *Sestertii*; his Steward grudging the Mony, laid it where he might see it, and asking what it meant, was answer'd, This is the Sum which you have order'd your Friend. *Anthony* finding out the Design of his Steward, said, *Is a Million of* Sestertii *no more than this, pray let the Sum be doubled.*

*His Munificence.*

The Parties in *Rome* for *Pompey* and *Cæsar* grew e'ry day to greater Heats. *Anthony* being by *Curio* brought over to *Cæsar*'s side, was by his Interest made first Tribune of the People; in which Office, his Zeal for *Cæsar* render'd him odious to the Consuls; who not being able to work him from his Party, expell'd him and other of *Cæsar*'s Friends the Senate. Upon which *Anthony* in a Slaves habit leaves *Rome*, and flies to *Cæsar*, exclaming, That there was no longer any place for Good-Men in the City; that the Laws were of no force; that the Tribunitial Power was totally destroy'd; and, that those who durst stand up for the Public Good, were in danger of their Lives.

Upon this Complaint, *Cæsar* having gain'd the occasion which he desir'd, of having Recourse to Arms, immediately enters *Italy*; whence having driven *Pompey* and his Adherents, he march'd into *Spain*, having left the Care of the City to *Lepidus* the *Prætor*, and the Army to *Anthony* the *Tribune* of the People, who soon by this Familiarity with, and Liberality to the Soldiers, gain'd their Affections; tho' his Debauches in Drink, and other Mens Wives, and neglect of enquiring into Complaints, rais'd him some Enemies. But *Cæsar* wink'd at his Faults, being a good Soldier, and patient of all the Fatigues of War. So that when *Cæsar* embark'd at *Brundusium* with part of his Forces for *Epirus*, he order'd *Anthony* and *Gabinius* to follow with the rest, and Land in *Macedon*. *Anthony*, after he had repuls'd *Libo*, at the Mouth of the Haven of *Brundusium*, set out to Sea with 20000 Foot

(a) *There goes such a Story of our King* James *the First, but the Event was just Opposite.*

and

and 800 Horſe, and in ſpight of the numerous Foe, and a dangerous Tempeſt, brought his Men to *Cæſar*. He behav'd himſelf ſo well on all occaſions, that he twice rally'd *Cæſar*'s broken Troops, and reſtor'd them to the Field, and drove the Enemy thence, by which he got a great Reputation in the Army, and *Cæſar* himſelf, in the deciſive Battel of *Pharſalia* gave him, as the moſt experienc'd Officer, the Command of the Left Wing, whilſt he Commanded the Right himſelf.

The Battel being won, *Cæſar* is made *Dictator*, and then he made *Anthony* again Tribune of the People, and ſent him to *Rome*. Here he oppos'd the Law of reſcinding all regiſtred Debts propos'd by his Friend *Dolabella*, another Tribune of the People, and hinder'd its paſſing, by oppoſing Force to Force. This was the only unpopular Action he did, which gave the common People ſome diſguſt, as his Debauchery did the better ſort, his midnight Revels, his wild Expences, his rambling from one little Whore to another, his Naps by Day, his digeſtive Walks, his perpetual Converſation with the Mimics and Players. And he drunk ſo much one Night at the Nuptials of *Hippias* the Comedian, that he diſembogu'd the next Day before all the People, one of his Friends receiving it in his Gown. He travell'd with an Equipage of an Army, and ſet up Tents on the Banks of Rivers, and under the Shade of the Trees.

Thoſe and many other Exorbitancies, made *Cæſar* on his Return not countenance him ſo much, which check'd his Looſeneſs, and made him marry *Fulvia* the Widow of *Clodius*. *Cæſar* being the fifth time made Conſul took *Anthony* for his *Collegue*. The Civil Wars being now over, *Anthony* unwillingly gave occaſion for the Death of *Cæſar*, offering him a Crown in the Feaſts of the *Lupercalia*; which haſten'd the Execution of the Conſpiracy of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, by which *Cæſar* fell.

*Cæſar* being dead, *Anthony* at firſt fled, and hid himſelf, throwing aſide the Robes of his Magiſtracy; but finding no Tumult in the City, he ſent to the Conſpirators, and was reconcil'd to them, *Caſſius* ſupping with him that Night. An Act of Oblivion being the next Day paſs'd, the diviſion of Provinces by him propos'd, the Acts of *Cæſar* all confirm'd, by all which *Anthony* obtain'd the Reputation of an able Stateſman, having by theſe means remov'd all Cauſe of Civil War, and reſtor'd the Peace of the City. Yet a few days after, when the Body of *Cæſar* was brought into the *Forum*, he prais'd him ſo efficaciouſly, that the Conſpirators were forc'd to fly the City, the enrag'd People pulling down their very

Houſes. *Anthony* having thus got *Cæſars* Papers into his Hands, and among thoſe his Will, he promoted ſuch and ſuch to Offices, gave others their Freedom, recall'd others from Baniſhment, and call'd others into the Senate, alledging it to be the Will of *Cæſar*.

In a little time *Octavius Cæſar*, the adopted Heir of *Julius*, arrives at *Rome* from *Apollonia*, and having waited on *Anthony*, in a few days puts him in mind of the Money in his Hands, and of *Cæſars* Legacy of 75 *Drachma's* to every *Roman* Citizen; but *Anthony* laugh'd at him, and in the end ſuch a Breach was made, that *Anthony* oppoſing *Octavius* in his Petition of the Tribuneſhip, and threatning him with Impriſonment on his perſiſting, apply'd himſelf entirely to *Cicero*, then of great Authority, who by his Induſtry and Authority in the Senate gave him a great Intereſt there, while he endeavour'd to make himſelf gracious to the People, and the veteran Soldiers ſoon were won to his ſide from every quarter. *Anthony*, by *Cicero*'s means, wasdeclar'd an Enemy to the Commonwealth, and the Rods and Axes ſent to *Cæſar* as *Prætor*, and *Hirtius* and *Pauſa*, then Conſuls, order'd to drive him out of *Italy*; and near *Modena* they came to a Battel, in which *Anthony* is routed, but the two Conſuls kill'd.

After this Debate, *Anthony* with the Remains of his Army paſſes the *Alps* in great want of Proviſions, but coming into *Gaul*, by inſinuating himſelf into the Soldiers of *Lepidus*, obliges him to join Forces with him; the conſequence of which was the coming over of *Munatius Plancus* with conſiderable Force. Thus with more than 10000 Horſe and ſeventeen Legions, beſides ſix Legions left in Garriſon under *Varius*, he repaſs'd the *Alps*, and enter'd *Italy*.

But by this time, *Cæſar* finding that *Cicero* aim'd at Liberty and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth, he by the Mediation of Friends was reconcil'd to *Anthony*, with whom and *Lepidus* he met in an Iſland, and in three days conference divided the World betwixt them, and by a horrid Compact proſcrib'd to death their ſeveral Friends and Relations, ſacrificing all Tyes of Blood and Gratitude to each others Revenge, *Cæſar* yielding up *Cicero* to *Anthony*; *Lepidus*, his Brother *Paulus*, and *Anthony* his Uncle *Lucius* to *Cæſar*; beſides theſe three Hundred more were adjudg'd to Death. *Anthony* order'd the Murderers of *Cicero* to cut off his Head and right Hand, which had wrote the Invectives againſt him: Whom when he had view'd with ſmiles, and glutted his Revenge with looking on them a while, he order'd to be nail'd upon the *Roſtra* where he us'd to plead,

nor

not considering that it was to his own disgrace, as shewing him unworthy of the Power he possest.

This Triumvirate was hateful to the *Romans*, but *Anthony* look'd on as the most culpable, being older than *Cæsar*, and in greater Authority than *Lepidus*. He living in all the Intemperance of unbounded Luxury, in the very House of *Pompey*, (a Man remarkable for his Temperance and Sobriety) keeping his Doors shut to the Magistrates, and Foreign Ministers, while they were open to Players, Mimics, Juglers, Gamesters, and Flatterers, on whom he squander'd the Wealth his Proscriptions had brought him in, having not only seiz'd the Estates and Moneys of the proscrib'd, and ev'n their Widows Dowrys, but the Money deposited with the Vestal Virgins, by *Romans* and Strangers.

His Extravagance made *Cæsar* call for a division of the Spoils of their Country; and dividing likewise the Army, they march'd into *Macedon*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*; where coming to a Battel, *Brutus* put *Cæsar* to the rout, whence, with the loss of his Camp, he scarce himself escap'd; but *Anthony* on the other side put *Cassius* to flight, who then oblig'd his Slave *Pindarus* to kill him; and *Cæsar* being ill, *Anthony* renew'd the Fight with *Brutus*, and gaining the day *Brutus* kill'd himself. *The Death of* Brutus *and* Cassius.

After this Victory, *Cæsar* is carry'd to *Rome* in a dying condition. But *Anthony* visiting the East, in order to raise Contributions to pay every private Centinel five hundred Crowns, as they had promis'd, enter'd *Greece* with a formidable Army; yet behav'd himself so obligingly to the *Grecians*, that he gain'd the Esteem and Applause of all those Parts, being fond of being stil'd the Lover of *Greece*. Passing hence into *Asia* to enrich himself with the Spoils of Countries, where Kings er'y Morning waited his Levee's at his Chamber-Doors, and Queens contended who should appear most agreeable in his Eyes. So that while *Cæsar* struggl'd with Factions and Seditions in *Rome*, *Anthony* fell into his old Courses of Luxury and Pleasure, conversing with Players, Musicians, Dancers, and the like, through whose Hands every thing pass'd. Sweet Ointments and adoriferous Chaplets was all he medled with, and Perfumes were around him wherever he went, peeling the Great Ones of those Nations of all their Fortunes, and giving away the Estate of several yet living, as if they had been dead, to Pimps and Pandars, whose Representations he never enquir'd into. Thus he gave one of his Cooks a Noblemans fine Seat for dressing his Supper well. Rallying was his peculiar delight, but then he allow'd every one the priviledge of his Repartee, which

his Flatterers dextrously turn'd to their own end in a more artful Adulation.

Anthony *falls in Love with* Clopatra.

To compleat his Ruin, *Cleopatra* enchanted him so with her Beauty, that she stirr'd up whatever Vices lay hid in his Temper, and perfectly stifled all Remains of Virtue, if yet any sparks of it were left by his dissolute Life. For as he went into *Cilicia*, to go on with the *Parthian* War, he sent a Messenger to her, to summon her before him for assisting *Cassius* against him. But *Cleopatra* confiding in the Charms of her Person, and her Tongue made little doubt of vanquishing *Anthonys* Heart, as she had formerly done that of *Cæsar*, she sail'd down the *Cydnus* in all the Pomp imaginable, with Silken Cordage and Purple Sails, and Artful Cupids and Nereids attending, while she like a *Venus* reclin'd under a Golden Canopy.

But *Anthony* was not more taken with the Beauties of her Face and Person, than with those of her Conversation; all which had render'd him so entirely a Captive to her, that he gave over all Thoughts of Care of his Affairs at *Rome*, scarce maintain'd by his Wife *Fulvia*, and of the Descent of the *Parthians* upon *Syria* under *Labienus*, General now to the *Parthian* King, and was led by *Cleopatra* away for *Alexandria*, there to lose himself in all manner of Pleasures, which they call'd the *Inimitable Life*. She made it her Business to gratifie him in all his Pleasures, and to be the Cause and Minister of them, rambling and walking with him in a Servants Dress.

He continu'd in this Lethargy of Pleasure till *Fulvia's* Letters inform'd him, that she and his Party were driven out of *Italy* by *Cæsar*. This rouz'd him from his Dream, and made him hasten into *Syria*, and think of the *Parthian* War; but again sollicited by *Fulvia*, he turn'd towards *Italy* with two hundred Ships; in his Voyage his Friend who fled to him, inform'd him, that *Fulvia* being of a turbulent Spirit had been the sole Cause of all this War, in hopes that the Troubles in *Italy* would draw him away from *Cleopatra*.

Fulvias *Death.*

But *Fulvia* hastening to meet her Husband in *Asia*, dy'd at *Sicyon*. *Anthony* therefore arriving in *Italy*, their Common Friends brought *Cæsar* and him to an Accomodation, dividing the World again amongst them, the *Ionian*-Sea to be the Bounds of their Empire in the East; *Cæsar* to have *Spain*, and *Lepidus Africa*. To confirm this new Agreement, *Anthony* marries *Octavia*, *Cæsar's* half-Sister, whom he tenderly lov'd for her many Virtues and admirable Qualities. *Anthony* in the mean while sends *Ventidius* to repress the Insults of the *Parthians*; and he himself soon after leaving *Cæsar*, went

*Marry's* Octavia.

went with his Wife *Octavia* into *Greece*; and whilſt he ſpent the Winter at *Athens*, he receiv'd Letters from *Ventidius*, which inform'd him, that he had routed the *Parthians* in three Battels; this News was ſo welcome to him, that *Athens* was full of nothing but public Rejoicings. But a new Quarrel ariſing betwixt *Cæſar* and him, with *Octavia*, and a Fleet of above three hundred Sail, he makes for *Italy*. But *Octavia* ſo manag'd her Brother and Husband, that all things were amicably concluded, That *Cæſar* ſhould lend *Anthony* two Legions to ſerve in his Wars againſt the *Parthians*, and *Anthony* in exchange leaves him one hundred arm'd Galleys, to War with *Sextus Pompeius*, &c. So *Anthony* ſet Sail for *Aſia*, and *Cæſar* with *Octavia* and her Children, and *Anthony* by *Fulvia* return'd to *Rome*.

*Anthony* coming into *Syria*, and finding his fatal Love for *Cleopatra* break out again, ſends *Fonteius Capito* to fetch her thither; where, when ſhe arrives, beſides what he had before given her, he makes her an Additional Preſent of *Phœnicia*, the lower *Syria*, *Cyprus*, part of *Cilicia*, and part of *Judea* with the *Nabathean Arabia*, depriving ſeveral Kings of their Kingdoms, and among the reſt *Antigonus* King of *Judea*, whoſe Head he order'd to be cut off. Theſe Profuſions to *Cleopatra*, and his Dotage on her, gave no ſmall diſguſt to the *Romans*; but he gave this plauſible Excuſe, *That great Heroes had never confin'd their Poſterity to one Woman, but ſcatter'd their Image wherever they came, by which means he had the Honour to be deriv'd from* Hercules, *which more regarded the Laws of Nature, which prompted to the propagation of our Kind, than to any Law of* Solon, *which might tend to the curbing it.*

Having ſent *Cleopatra* back to *Ægypt*, and march'd into *Atropatene* with about 100000 Men, Horſe and Foot, which made all *Aſia* as far as the *Indies*, tremble; and yet by his Dotage on *Cleopatra*, and his eager Longing to be early with her, he loſt all the Advantage of this Preparation; doing every thing out of order whilſt he did ev'ry thing in haſte, leaving for Expedition all his Engines of War behind him, which were afterwards taken by the *Parthians*, and moſt of the Guard he left with them kill'd or taken. And when *Anthony* beſieg'd *Phraata*, the Capital of the *Medes*, in which was that King's Wife and Children, he was fain with great difficulty to make a Mount againſt the Walls; but *Phraartes* coming up with a great Army, *Artuaſdes* King of *Armenia*, firſt mover of the War, went off with his Men, which encourag'd the *Parthians* to affront and inſult the *Romans*, till coming to a Battel, the *Parthians* were beat and purſu'd three Leagues

Leagues by the Foot, and nine by the Horſe, yet loſt but fourſcore kill'd, and thirty taken Priſoners. This made *Anthony* deſpair of ſucceſs in this War; ſo, weary of the Expedition, a Truce was concluded, and the *Roman* Army to retire into *Armenia* without Moleſtation; but the *Parthians* breaking the Truce, took all Advantages of falling on them in their March, and by the Hardſhips of which, and the fooliſh Raſhneſs of *Gallus*, which had almoſt ruin'd the Army, Diſtempers and the like, they got not off without the loſs of many Thouſands: Nor had they ſcap'd better than *Craſſus* and his Army, had not *Moreſes*, a great Man of *Parthia*, to whom in his Exile *Anthony* gave three Cities for his Maintenance, ſent him private Intelligence of their deſigns, and a *Mardian* Guide conducted them through the Mountainy not the Plain Country. But now paſſing the River *Araxis*, he enter'd *Armenia* with Joy; but on a Review, there were found twenty Thouſand Foot and four Thouſand Horſe wanting, and thoſe loſt more by the Hardſhips of the March, than by the Enemy; for in the March of twenty ſeven days the *Parthians* were beat eighteen times.

The Deſertion of *Artuaſdes* King of *Armenia*, with 16000 Horſe us'd to the *Parthian* Diſcipline, was the Cauſe that *Anthony* could not bring this War to a happy Concluſion, wanting thoſe to purſue the Army he beat. Yet his Soldiers being tir'd he reſented not then the Treachery, but us'd him with ſuch Complaiſance as if it had not happen'd; tho' he afterwards got him into his Hands, and to the diſguſt of the *Romans*, led him in Triumph to *Alexandria*, to gratifie *Cleopatra*, and not to *Rome*. He then led his Men through Froſt and Snow, to the loſs of eight Thouſand of them, to *Leucocome*, where he expected *Cleopatra* with the utmoſt Impatience.

Ambaſſadours coming from the King of *Media*, to enter into a League with him againſt the *Parthians*, he return'd into *Armenia*, and joining the King of *Media*, they began the War.

*Octavia* deſirous to ſee her Husband, gets Permiſſion to go to him, *Cæſar* hoping from his Uſage of her to find a juſt excuſe for a War upon him; ſhe arriving at *Athens* heard of this his new Expedition, and his Orders to attend him there. *Cleopatra* alarm'd with *Octavias* Approach, pretended to dye for the loſs of *Anthony*, refus'd her Meals, and ſeem'd to pine away for his Love, all the while he made Preparations for the *Parthian* War; till *Anthony*, vanquiſh'd by her Art, diſmiſſes all thoughts of his Expedition, and *Octavia* returns to *Rome*. *Cæſar* being full of Reſentment, for having his Siſter

thus

thus ſlighted for a Miſtreſs, he therefore publickly accuſes him to the People, whilſt *Octavia*, without Regard to her Treatment, takes Care of his Children, his Affairs, and his Friends, preferring their Petitions to *Cæſar*; but her Goodneſs aggravated the Hatred againſt *Anthony* for his baſe dealing with ſo excellent a Lady. *Cæſar and Anthony quarrels again.*

*Anthony* on the other ſide was not ſilent in his Complaints againſt *Cæſar*, that he had depos'd *Lepidus* without giving him any ſhare of his Provinces, had driven *Pompey* from *Sicily*, and given him no part, and divided *Italy* among his Soldiers, leaving none for thoſe who had ſerv'd under him. To which *Cæſar* reply'd, That *Anthony* had not given him any ſhare of *Armenia*, and that his Men needed no Land to be divided among them in *Italy*, ſince they were Maſters of *Media* and *Parthia*.

This Anſwer of *Cæſar* ſo much exaſperated *Anthony*, that he ſends *Canidius* to the Coaſts of *Peleuſium* with ſeventeen Legions; and he with *Cleopatra* going to *Epheſus*, gathers Forces together from all ſides. He had a Fleet of 800 Veſſels, two hundred of which he had from *Cleopatra*, and 20000 Talents, and Proviſions for his whole Army during the War.

Things being thus prepar'd contrary to his trueſt Friends Advice, he takes *Cleopatra* with him to *Athens*; where whilſt they riot the time in Plays, Sports, Dancing, Singing, Feaſts, and all the Pompous Luxury that could be thought of, he ſends to *Rome* to turn *Octavia* out of his Houſe, with all his Children, except the eldeſt by *Fulvia*; which the People took very hainouſly, ſhe being in nothing inferiour to *Cleopatra*, in many more excellent; yet was ſhe extreamly troubled that ſhe ſhould be thought the leaſt Cauſe of the War.

*Anthony* had 500 Galley's, 100000 Foot, and 12000 Horſe, and ſeveral Vaſſal Kings; of whom *Amyntas* and *Diotarus* went over to *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* had 250 ſtout Galleys, fourſcore Thouſand Foot, and a number of Horſe equal to the Enemy. The Fleet was at Anchor before *Actium*, but ill furniſh'd with Mariners, yet by *Cleopatra*'s perſuaſion he fought at Sea, where holding a doubtful Fight, *Cleopatra* with 60 Galley's rows away, whom *Anthony* ſhamefully follows home to *Alexandria*, leaving his Ships engag'd, and his Army on Land entire. *The War betwixt Cæſar and Anthony.*

After

After which, *Cæsar* getting possession of his Navy and Army, retreated to *Athens*. The News perpetually came of the Desertion of Kings and Allies, which gave him such a concern, that he had kill'd himself, had not his Friends interpos'd, and persuaded him into Life: But Building a House near *Pharos*, on a little Mount he had cast up in the Sea, he retir'd from all Conversation, affecting the Life of *Timon*, calling the place of his Retreat *Timonium*, till *Canidius* brought him an Account of the loss of his Army before *Actium*, which was gone over to *Cæsar*, and all the Provinces revolted, but *Ægypt*; he threw off all Concern, and return'd into the City, and *Cleopatra* receiv'd him into the Palace, where they renew'd all their Sports and Revels, and abrogating the old Order, of the *inimitable Livers*, they instituted another in its place full as Splendid and Luxurious, and call'd it, the *Dyers together*. Nothing was to be seen in *Alexandria* but Sports and Rejoicings.

Things now growing to the last Extremity, *Cleopatra* employ'd her time in trying Experiments of Poisons on the Condemn'd; found those that made a quick dispatch, very tormenting, and those which were easie, slow. She apply'd to the Experiment of venomous Creatures, till she found nothing comparable to the Bite of an *Asp*, which gave Death by a gentle Sleep, without apparent Pains or Convulsions.

After this, they both sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*; *Cleopatra*, that her Children might keep the Kingdom of *Ægypt*; and *Anthony*, that he might be permitted to live a private Life there, or at *Athens*. *Cæsar* rejecting *Anthony*'s Request entirely, sent *Cleopatra* word, that there was nothing she might not promise her self, if she would either put *Anthony* to Death, or banish him her Kingdom. *Thyreus*, a plausible Speaker, was sent with the Ambassadours, to whom *Cleopatra* giving a very long Audience, *Anthony* grew impatient and jealous, had him whip'd and sent back to *Cæsar* with this Message, *That if this disgusted him, he might serve his Freedman* Hipparchus, *who was with him, in the same manner.*

*Cæsar*'s Affairs calling him to *Rome*, the War was deferr'd to the Spring, which being come, *Cæsar* arriving in *Ægypt* took *Peleusium*; which being reported to be given up by *Seleucus* the Governour, with *Cleopatra*'s consent, she gave into *Anthony*'s hands his Wife and Children. She convey'd away her precious Jewels and Gold to her Monument, which she had built by the Temple of *Isis*, and with them a great quantity of Torches and Flax. *Cæsar* hence fearing that she would destroy all this Treasure, took care to give her all the hopes imaginable of Favour. *Anthony* sends *Cæsar* a Chal-

Challenge to a ſingle Combat, which *Cæſar* refus'd. After ſome Reſiſtance, *Anthony* finding that all his Troops and his Ships had left him, return'd into the City full of Rage, declaring, that *Cleopatra* had betray'd him; ſo that ſhe being afraid of ſome effect of that Rage, fled to her Monument, and ſent him word, that ſhe had kill'd herſelf. *Anthony* hearing of this, cry'd out, Alas, fond *Anthony*! why this Delay? ſince ſhe is dead from whom only thou deriveſt thy Life! Then ſending for *Eros*, he order'd him according to his Promiſe to kill him; but *Eros* deſiring him to turn his Back, kills himſelf; *Anthony* then perceiving it, *Thou haſt taught me Eros* (ſaid he) *what I have to do*: Then running his Sword into his Belly, he threw himſelf on the Couch. *Cleopatra* hearing this, orders him to be brought to her Monument, into which ſhe and her Maids drew him up; and he being dead, and ſhe aſſur'd that *Cæſar* would carry her in Triumph, procur'd her own Death by Poiſon, or the Bite of *Aſps*, there being no mark of any Wound. According to her deſire, *Cæſar* bury'd her with *Anthony*, in a magnificent manner, extolling her Bravery and Greatneſs of Soul.

Anthony's *Death.*

The

# The LIFE of DEMOSTHENES.

*Demosthenes* was the Son of *Demosthenes* firnam'd the *Sword-Maker*, so call'd from his keeping many Servants in a great Work-house, skilful in that Art. Our *Demosthenes* was but seven years old when his Father dy'd, and was left with a plentiful Fortune of near fifteen Talents, to Guardians who embezled part, and neglected the other part; so that he had not sufficient to pay the Salaries of his Teachers, which depriv'd him of that liberal Education he would else have had, tho' the Tenderness of his Constitution was a Reason, that neither his Mother nor Masters would put him on Labour and Exercise.

*His Birth*

But being admitted to hear *Callistratus* plead, being now of riper years, he was so strook with the Power of his Tongue, and the Victory of his Eloquence, and so touch'd with the Honours that were paid it, that he apply'd himself wholly to the Study of the Art of Speaking. And having now study'd the Art under *Isæus*, *Isocrates*, *Plato*, or *Alcidamas* (for e'rey one of these have by Authors been asserted his Master) and being arriv'd at Mans Estate, he sued his Guardians. Tho' he never could recover all his Paternal Fortune, yet by this means he got a habit, and use of speaking in Publick. But his manner of Arguing and Delivery were at first not very agreeable to, or persuasive of the People; yet by great Application, Care, Exercise, and the Instructions of *Satyrus* the Actor, he so manag'd his Voice and Action, that he did not seem to be the same *Demosthenes*. For he is said to have built a Subterranean Place, in which he reform'd his Action, and form'd his Voice. He was never for speaking Extempore, or without Premeditation, and a full digestion of the Cause; which made *Pytheas* say, *That all the Arguments of* Demosthenes *smelt too much of the* Lamp.

He

He by this means, excell'd all the Orators of his Time but *Demades*, for *Theophraſtus* being ask'd, *what ſort of Orator* Demoſthenes *ſeem'd to be?* he reply'd, *Worthy his City.* The ſame Queſtion being ask'd of *Demades*, he ſaid, *Above his City.* He is ſaid to have cur'd a liſping in his Delivery by ſpeaking with Pible-Stones in his Mouth, and confirm'd his Voice with running, climbing up ſteep places, and exerciſing it in Harangues: 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, that he had a great Looking-Glaſs, before which he practic'd and form'd his Action.

His firſt appearing in Public Buſineſs was in the *Phocian* War, when he took an honourable occaſion to defend his Countries Liberties againſt *Philip*, by which he got immortal Glory. He gave himſelf up ſo entirely and ſincerely to the Service of the Commonwealth, that he perſever'd to the end of his Life in the Cauſe that he firſt eſpous'd. But he was much more excellent in Eloquence than War, always ſpeaking better than he fought; nor was he free from the ſuſpicion of Bribery in ſeveral Caſes, freely admitting the Money of *Perſia*, tho' he could not be prevail'd with to take the leaſt Bribe from *Macedon*. *His Conſtancy and Avarice.*

He took a great Liberty of his Speech in his Orations; and when the People had nam'd him to accuſe a certain Perſon, he ſaid to them, *Ye Men of* Athens, *I will always be your Adviſer, but you ſhall never make me your Sycophant or Falſe Accuſer.* He made Orations for two Adverſaries to ſpeak againſt one-another, and publiſh'd ſeveral before he was twenty-eight years old. He always took care to have an Eye on *Macedon*, and ſaw Deſtruction coming ſo viſibly from that Quarter, that in the Time of Peace he could not forbear finding Fault with all that *Philip* did, and omitted nothing that could ſtir the *Athenians* up againſt him; which made him much regarded by that Prince and his Court, and when he came one of the ten Ambaſſadors to *Philip*, the King, tho' he pay'd *Æſchines* and *Philocrates* more Reſpect, took yet more care in anſwering *Demoſthenes*, and did it in more Words: And when all the other Ambaſſadors extol'd and prais'd *Philip* as an able Speaker, a beautiful Perſon, and a good Companion, *Demoſthenes* reply'd, The firſt is a Quality fit for a Rhetorician, the ſecond for a Woman, and the laſt of a Spunge; but none of them a fit Commendation of a Prince.

By his Motion the *Athenians* drove the *Macedonians* out of *Eubæa*, aſſiſted the *Byzantines* and *Corinthians*; and all *Greece* almoſt roſe in Arms to vindicate their Liberty, forming a Body of 14000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe. The *Eubœans*, the *Achaians*, the *Corinthians*, the *Megarians*, the *Leucadians*, and

and *Corcyreans* join'd in a League; but the difficulty was to engage the *Thebans*, not recover'd of their late Wounds, and averse to forget the Favours *Philip* had shown them in the War of *Phocis*. But the Power of the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* surmounted all, so that *Philip* himself thought fit to treat of a Peace, since all *Greece* was now up in Arms. But at this time it was evident that *Demosthenes* had not less Interest and Authority in *Thebes* than *Athens*. But Fortune having now resolv'd to put an end to the Liberty of *Greece*, disappointed all the noble Designs of our Orator.

*The Confederacy betwixt* Athens *and* Thebes.

The Battel was by *Demosthenes* resolv'd on, in spite of the Prodigies and Oracles to the contrary, telling the *Thebans* of *Epaminondas*, the *Athenians* of *Pericles*, who alwaies follow'd the Dictates of Reason, not such Fopperies. Had he fought as well as he spoke, perhaps the Event had been better; for, unmindful of all he had spoke, and even of the Motto of his own Shield, whereon in Golden Letters was wrote *Good Fortune*, he threw down his Shield, and so ran away.

*His Flight.*

*Philip* was so transported with this Victory, that in an extravagant manner he insulted the Dead, and dancing sung the first Words of the Decree of *Demosthenes*. But the Fire of this Joy being over, he shook with Horrour, to consider into what Danger the Power of this Oratour had brought him.

He was likewise of so great an Authority with the *Persian* King, that he order'd his Lieutenants to send *Demosthenes* Money, as the only Man able to divert *Philip* from foreign Conquests, by a Diversion nearer home.

This Misfortune of the Battel encourag'd his Enemies to accuse him, but the People acquitted him; and as a Proof that they were not dissatisfied with the Advice he had given, they restor'd him to the management of their Affairs, and order'd to speak the Funeral Oration of those that were slain in the Battel of *Cheronea*.

Not long after, hearing of the Death of *Philip* at *Athens*, they demonstrate their Joy, and all *Greece* is again engaged to rise against *Alexander*, by the Persuasions of *Demosthenes*; and he wrote to all the *Persian* Governours, to make War against the Boy *Alexander*. But *Alexander* invading the *Thebans*, the *Athenians* Spirits fell, and *Thebes* was left to stand the shock by it self, accordingly falling into the Victor's hands. After which being deputed one of the Ambassadors to *Alexander*, on his Journey reflecting on his Resentment, he quitted the Employ, and return'd back. *Alexander* on this sends to demand *Demosthenes*, and several other of the Orators;

*Thebes taken by Alexander.*

tors; upon which *Demoſthenes* ſpeaking to the People, told 'em the Fable of the Wolves, the Dogs, and the Sheep: The Wolves, like *Alexander*, demanded of the Sheep the People, that they ſhould ſend them their Dogs, the Orators, who only made it their Buſineſs to defend their Laws and Liberties. As thoſe, ſaid he, who ſell Corn, give only a ſmall Sample of it, by that they ſell the whole; ſo your ſending us firſt, will afterwards ſurrender and give up the whole City. In the midſt of the Debate *Demades* for five Talents undertook to ſave them, and reconcile *Alexander* to their City, and going Ambaſſador to him he effected it.

When *Alexander* was in *Aſia*, *Harpalus* fled from him to *Athens* with conſiderable Treaſure and Riches; the Debate was, Whether they ſhould receive or reject him. *Demoſthenes* was againſt him, but by the King's curious and rich Cup, and twenty Talents, he came to the Aſſembly with his Neck wrapt in Cloaths the next day, and ſaid nothing againſt him. The Bribe was ſo evident, that the People reſolv'd to reject *Harpalus*, and examin into thoſe, who had taken Bribes. *Demoſthenes* being accus'd, is found guilty by the *Areopagus*, to whom he had appeal'd, and was fined fifty Talents, and committed to Priſon; whence making his eſcape, he went into Baniſhment; but ſome of the contrary Party purſuing him, made him Preſents to ſubſiſt him in his Exile, which made him with a ſigh cry out, *Is it any Wonder that I go unwillingly from ſuch a City, where my very Enemies do that for me, which will be hard to find from Friends in another!* *Fined, & Baniſh'd for Bribery.*

He was an Exile in *Ægina* when *Alexander* dy'd, and *Greece* once more riſing up in Arms, *Pythias* and *Callimedon* having fled from *Athens*, join'd the Agents of *Antipater*, who negotiated with the Cities of *Greece* to hinder them from engaging in this Confederacy; but *Demoſthenes* e'ry where oppos'd them, and defended *Athens* more, than they could run it down, and ſtirr'd up the *Greeks* to join with them to reſtore their Liberty. The *Athenians* were ſo pleas'd with this, that they made a Decree to recall him from Baniſhment, and ſent a Ship to bring him from *Ægina* home; and arriving in the *Pyræum*, he bleſs'd this day of his happy Return, being recall'd, not by force, as *Alcibiades*, but by the free-will of his Countrymen. His pecuniary Fine not being capable of a Remiſſion, they order'd him fifty Talents for the adorning the Altar of *Jupiter Soter*, which was the Sum of his Fine. *He is recall'd.*

Short was this Enjoyment of his Country, all the Efforts of *Greece* proving of no effect, and coming to nothing, in a Report of *Antipater* and *Craterus*'s coming to beſiege *Athens*, upon which *Demoſthenes* and his Party flye by Night to ſeveral Places, but the People by the Perſuaſion of *Demades* condemn them, and *Antipater* ſends his Men every where to find them out, and put them to Death. But moſt deſirous to have *Demoſthenes* in his Hands, he ſends *Archias* an Actor, with ſome Soldiers to force him out, he being fled for Sanctuary to the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*: *Archias* finds him there, and endeavours to perſuade him by plauſible Aſſurances to ſurrender himſelf to *Antipater*; but finding fair Promiſes had no effect, he plainly threaten'd him with Force if he perſiſted. *Demoſthenes* therefore finding that he could by no means eſcape the Murderers, deſir'd them to ſtay a little till he had writ down ſomething relating to his own Domeſtick Affairs; ſo removing into a more inward part of the Temple, he took a Quill, and often bit it betwixt his Teeth; then laying himſelf down, he cover'd his Head, and fixing his Eyes on *Archias*, *Now* (ſaid he) *as ſoon as you pleaſe you may act the Part of* Creon *in the Tragedy, and caſt out my Body without Funeral Rites. But, Oh! gracious* Neptune, *I for my own part, while yet I live, riſe and leave this ſacred Place. But* Antipater *and the* Macedonians *have not left ſo much as thy Temple unpolluted.* Being then taken up and led, as he came by the Altar he fell down, and with a Groan gave up the Ghoſt. He dy'd the ſixteenth of *October*, being the day of a melancholly Celebration of the *Theſmopheria* of *Ceres*, where the Women faſt all day in the Temple of that Goddeſs.

Soon after his Death, the People of *Athens* erected a Brazen Statue to him, and decreed, That his eldeſt Son ſhould be maintain'd in the *Prytanæum*: And on his Statue was engrav'd theſe Words,

*Had Courage with thy wond'rous Wiſdom join'd,*
*Greece would not now the* Macedonian *Bondage find.*

The

# The LIFE of M. T. CICERO.

*Marcus Tullius Cicero* was by his Mother *Helvia* descended from a House of Note, by his Father uncertain, some making him a Fuller, others of the Family of *Tullus Attius* King of the *Volsci*. The Name of *Cicero* coming from the Figure of a *Vetch* on the Nose of one of his Ancestors, he was persuaded to change it, but he reply'd, He would make that Name more Glorious, than those of the *Scauri*, and *Catuli*.

'Tis said, his Mother felt no pain in her Delivery of him, *His Birth* that a *Dæmon* or *Phantasm* appear'd to his Nurse and foretold her, That the Child at her Breast should hereafter be very beneficial to his Country. And he speedily gave pregnant Promises of the Prediction: For on his Application to his Book, he soon excell'd all the Boys that were his Schoolfellows, so that many grave Men came to his School to behold and hear the Wonders of his Wit. Capable of all Sciences, he chiefly discover'd a Propensity to Poety, publishing a Poem when a Boy, that is yet extant, and call'd *Pontius* or *Potnous Glaucus*. Eloquence or Rhetoric he made a great Progress in, the Fame of which still remains; that of his Poetry is lost in the Superiour Reputation of his Successours in that Art.

He heard *Philo* in Philosophy, and apply'd to *Mutius Scævola* in the State-Affairs and the Knowledge of the Law. He serv'd under *Sylla* in the *Marsian* War. But to avoid the Trouble of a Factious Time, he retir'd to his Studies, and a learned (but private) Conversation, till *Sylla* had usurpt the Commonwealth, and Matters found a sort of settlement under him. About this time *Sylla*, by *Chrysogonus* his Emancipated Slave, prosecuted *Sextus Roscius Amerinus* for Parricide, and when all the Elder Patrons or Advocates had refus'd to *The first* defend him, for fear of *Sylla*, *Cicero* undertook the Cause, *Cause he* and argu'd it with that Eloquence and Intrepidity, that *Ros-* *defends.* *cius* was acquitted.

But being ſenſible, that the Applauſe he gain'd by this, rais'd *Sylla*'s Hatred, he travell'd into *Greece*, and retir'd to *Athens*, as he pretended for the ſake of his Health. Here he apply'd himſelf entirely to the Study of Philoſophy, and made ſuch a Progreſs as gain'd the Admiration of all.

The News of *Sylla*'s Death, the Recovery of his Health, and the Perſuaſion of his Friend, prevail'd with him to return to *Rome* and the Study of Rhetoric, as proper to a Stateſman, perpetually exerciſing himſelf in Declamations, and hearing the moſt celebrated Orators of his Time. From *Athens* he therefore went to *Aſia* and *Rhodes*, where he declaim'd in *Greek* at the deſire of *Apollonius*, ſo admirably, that while all the reſt were tranſported with his Praiſe, *Apollonius* having ſate ſilently muſing a while, anſwer'd, *Cicero* asking his Opinion; That *he admir'd and prais'd him, but pity'd the Fate of* Greece, *to find Arts and Eloquence, which was all that was left her, raviſh'd now from her, and tranſported to* Rome.

Apollonius *his Judment of* Cicero.

Being return'd to *Rome*, the *Pythian* Oracle, That he ſhould arrive to Glory by making his own Judgment the Guide of his Actions, not the Opinion of the People, made him negligent of Public-Affairs and Pleading; but being overcome by the Importunity of his Father and Friends, he at once ſhone out the greateſt Orator of his Time, tho' he was oblig'd to *Roſcius* the *Commedian*, and *Æſopus* the *Tragedian*, for the well-forming of his Action; which afterwards was ſo excellent, that it did not a little contribute to the Perſuaſiveneſs of his Diſcourſes.

Being *Quæſtor* in *Sicily* (in a great Dearth of Corn in *Rome*) he reliev'd their want of Corn by obliging all the *Sicilians* to vend theirs in *Rome*: Which with this Adminiſtration of his Province with Care, Juſtice, and Clemency, and general Satisfaction, made him imagine that he had made himſelf Famous among all Men; ſo that meeting an Acquaintance of his in *Campania*, he ask'd him, What the People ſaid of his Actions in *Rome*; *Why*, reply'd the other, *where haſt thou been then all this while?* This check'd his Vain-glory, and abated his Luſt of Public Applauſe in ſome meaſure, tho' never extinguiſh'd his Love of hearing himſelf prais'd.

He was ſo induſtrious for the Qualities neceſſary to a Stateſman, that he not only knew the Names, but the Places of Abode, the Lands and Country-Seats that the principal Citizens enjoy'd. The *Sicilians* made choice of him for their Advocate againſt *Verres*, whom having caſt and fined, the People of *Sicily* made him great Preſents when he

he was *Ædile*, which he turn'd to the public, not his own private Account.

He had a pleasant Seat at *Arpinum*, a Farm near *Naples*, and another about *Pompeii*. His Wife *Terentia's* Portion was twelve Myriades, and his own Fortune nine; on which he liv'd freely and temperately, rarely sitting down to Meat till Sun-set. His paternal Seat he gave his Brother, and dwelt himself near Mount *Palatine*, for the Convenience of his numerous Clients, not fewer applying to him for his Eloquence, than to *Crassus* for his Riches, and to *Pompey* for his Power among the Soldiers, *Pompey* himself paying him a deference and owing much of his Authority and Glory to him. He carry'd the *Prætorship* from all the great Candidates that stood with him, and discharg'd it with Honour and Applause. And when he stood for the Consulship, both the Nobility and Commons join'd in his Election.

Among other things that he did in his *Consulship*, the discovery of the Conspiracy of *Cataline*, and the quashing of it by the punishment of the Conspirators, was the most considerable, for which he had the Title of *Father of his Country*, and was call'd the *Saviour and Founder of the City*. For by the disappointment of this Plot he deliver'd his Country from Desolation by Fire and Slaughter; whence he deriv'd great Authority in the State, and the People. *Cataline's Conspiracy.*

Tho' he was something too much given to praise himself, yet he was far from envying others, being very liberal in commending both the Ancients and his Contemporaries, *Greeks* and *Latins*. *Cæsar* being one of the *Prætors*, and *Metellus* and *Bestia* two of the Tribunes, did him all the Indignities they could, by hindring him from speaking his Oration at the surrender of his Consulship, and endeavour'd more, but that *Cato* being one of the Tribunes, stood by him and baffl'd all their Attempts. His Sharp Reflections, Repartees, and Jests on People, had made him some Enemies, but none could hurt him, till the Faction of *Clodius* prevail'd. *Clodius* had been of *Cicero's* Party, and very useful to him in the Conspiracy of *Cataline*, but *Terentia Cicero's* Wife, supposing that *Clodia* the Sister of *Clodius* had a mind to marry *Cicero*, prevail'd with him to give Evidence against him when prosecuted, for violating the Rites of the *Bona Dea* in *Cæsar's* House, for the sake of *Pompeia Cæsar's* Wife, with whom *Clodius* was in Love. For his Plea he urg'd, That he was then out of *Rome*; but *Cicero* testify'd, That he was at his House that very Morning. However by Bribes *Clodius* comes off, and vents all his Malice and Revenge against *Cicero*, being now chosen Tribune

of the People, tho' of the *Patrician* Order, for he was of a great Family. He brib'd the Conſuls, by giving them good Provinces, as *Macedonia* to *Piſo*, and *Syria* to *Gabinius*; and of the three great and powerful Men, *Craſſus* was his Enemy; *Cæſar* was going with his Army into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* indifferently careſs'd both, but when *Cicero* had enrag'd *Cæſar* by refuſing to go his Lieutenant, as he himſelf had deſir'd, *Pompey* on his Account would neither aſſiſt, nor ſee *Cicero* when he came to his Houſe to apply for his Help.

Thus *Clodius* prefer'd an Accuſation againſt him for putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to death illegally, for which *Cicero* put on Mourning, and ſupplicated the People; and with him join'd almoſt all the *Equeſtrian* Order, 20000 young Gentlemen appearing for and with him in Mourning, *Clodius* at the head of a ſcandalous Rabble abuſing him, and throwing Stones at him. The Senate themſelves met to paſs a Decree, That the People ſhould put on Mourning, as in a time of publick Calamity, but were hinder'd by the Conſuls.

*Goes into Exile.* At laſt, by the Advice of his Friends, he went out of *Rome*, guarded by them, about midnight, and paſs'd through *Lucania* on foot, deſigning for *Sicily*.

*Clodius* no ſooner heard of his flight, but he publiſh'd a Decree of Exile, interdicting him Fire and Water, and prohibiting any within 500 miles of *Rome* to receive him into their Houſes. He paſs'd at laſt by Sea to *Dyrrachium*, and ſo into *Greece*.

*Clodius* having thus driven *Cicero* out of *Italy*, burnt his Villa's and City-Houſe, building in its place a Temple to *Liberty*, and expos'd his Goods to ſale.

*Clodius* ſtopt not here, but fell upon *Pompey*, ſo that he repented his having deſerted *Cicero* ſo ungratefully; but now applied himſelf to the endeavouring to recall him from Baniſhment: *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, joyning with him, with ſome Bloodſhed they quaſh'd *Clodius*, and paſs'd a Decree in the Senate, and by the People, for recalling him, it being the moſt unanimous of any they had ever paſs'd: His Villa's and Houſe were rebuilt at the publick Charge, and he reſtor'd, ſixteen months after he had been driven into Baniſhment.

*He is recall'd from Baniſhment.*

*Cicero* after this goes to the Capitol, and deſtroys the Tribunitian Records of the Acts done in the Tribuneſhip of *Clodius*, as being againſt the Law, ſince he was of the *Patrician* Order. Soon after *Milo* kills *Clodius*, and being to be try'd for it, choſe *Cicero* for his Advocate; who, being affrighted at the *Forum*'s being ſurrounded with Arms, *Milo* himſelf encourag'd him; but his appearing ſo confident and without Mourning,

ning, was one of the principal Cauſes of his own Condemnation.

He was after this made one of the *Augurs*, and having *Cilicia* by Lot, he ſail'd thither with 12000 Foot and 2600 Horſe. He, according to Order, reduc'd the *Cappadocians* to the Obedience of *Artobarzanes*, and by a mild Government made the *Cilicians* leſs inſolent, than the *Roman* Loſſes in *Parthia* had given 'em to him: He receiv'd no Preſents, remitted their publick Suppers, entertain'd the Ingenious and Virtuoſi himſelf. He had no Porter, but aroſe early in the Morning, and receiv'd all courteouſly that came to him: He never commanded any to ſuffer by the Rods, nor rending of Garments: He enrich'd the Cities with the Moneys, that were purloin'd, and preſerv'd their Reputation who made early and voluntary Reſtitution: He with his Army drove out the Bands of Robbers, who infeſted the Mountain *Amanus*, for which his Soldiers ſaluted him *Imperator*.

Leaving his Province, he touch'd at *Rhodes*, ſtaid a little at *Athens*, ſaw his old Friends, and then return'd to *Rome*; where being offer'd a Triumph, he refus'd it. But things were now all in a Ferment, and coming to an open Rupture. He play'd the Mediator betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar* as much as he could, but the Wounds being incurable, and *Cæſar* approaching *Rome*, after great debate within himſelf which ſide to take, he follow'd *Pompey*, with the Senators and Great Men that were with him, *Cæſar* being now gone into *Spain*. He was welcome to all but *Cato*, who would have had him remain'd Neuter, and govern'd the Event of Things for the Good of the Commonwealth.

After the Battel of *Pharſalia*, (in which *Cicero*, for want of Health, was not) he return'd from *Dyrrhachium* to *Brunduſium*, having very narrowly eſcap'd with his Life from the Swords of young *Pompey* and his Friends, for refuſing to joyn their Army, *Cato* only ſaving him, and getting him out of the Camp.

*Cæſar* coming at laſt from *Ægypt*, he went out to meet him, receiv'd from him all the Honour imaginable, and convers'd alone with him for many Furlongs. When *Cæſar* had reſolv'd not to pardon *Legarius*, he went to hear what *Cicero* could ſay for him: Tho' he declar'd nothing could mollifie his Reſentment, yet when he heard him, he dropt his Papers out of his Hands, and vow'd, that he was vanquiſh'd by Eloquence.

The Republick being now chang'd into a Monarchy, *Cicero* applied himself wholly to Philosophy, publishing many Philosophical Dialogues, and finding out *Latin* Terms of Art for those us'd by the *Greeks*. He spent his Time at his Villa near *Tusculum*, seldom going to Town, unless to pay his court to *Cæsar*, whose Honours he was the first that voted for, coining always new Compliments and Praises of his Person and Actions. He had a Design of writing the History of his Country, intermingling the Affairs of *Greece*, both real and fabulous, but was diverted by publick or domestick Troubles. *Terentia* had not only neglected him, and never came near him at *Brundusium*, but had not furnish'd his Daughter with necessary Expences for her Journey to him, had left him an empty House, and ran him very much in Debt; for which Considerations he put her off. But *Cicero* not long after married a beautiful young Lady, and very rich, to pay his Debts, (as *Tyro* writes, but as others upbraid him for love of her Beauty.) This was soon succeeded by the loss of his Daughter, in Child-bed; which producing so great a Grief in him, all his Philosophical Friends endeavour'd to comfort him.

He was not concern'd in the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, tho' so great a Confidant of *Brutus*, his Old-age and timerous Temper deterring them from admitting him into the Secret. After the Assassination, he propos'd in the Senate an Act of Oblivion, and, that Provinces should be given to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; but *Anthony* being Consul, and burying *Cæsar*, made such a Speech to the People, and so touch'd their Compassion by shewing them the bloody Garments of *Cæsar*, that they mutiny'd, and ran to burn the Houses of the Conspirators; who being fled, *Anthony* was so puffed up, as to behave himself as if he had thoughts of assuming the Government; he was therefore uneasie to *Cicero*, whom he look'd on as the Friend of *Brutus* and Liberty. He had therefore gone with *Dollabella* to *Syria*, but *Hircius* and *Pacusa* being design'd Consuls the next Year, prevail'd with him to divert his Journey to *Athens*, where, he said, he would stay till their Consulates began; but, again over-persuaded by his Friends, he return'd to *Rome*, and was so receiv'd by the People and Senate, that the Ceremonies he receiv'd of Welcome at the Gates of *Rome* took up almost a whole Day. This alarm'd *Anthony*, and made him summon him the next Day to the Senate, whither out of apprehension of some Ill meant him, he did not go, for which *Anthony* free'd him.

But the young *Cæsar* coming to *Rome*, from *Apollonia*, and falling out with *Anthony* about Moneys left him by *Julius*, so that *Philip* and *Marcellus*, with young *Cæsar*, applied to *Cicero*, who espous'd his Cause against *Anthony*: And he insinuated himself so far into *Cæsar*, that he call'd him Father.

The Power of *Cicero* being now at the highest, he had driven *Anthony* out of *Rome*, and sent the two Consuls after him, who being kill'd in the Battel, tho' Conquerors, the Army joyn'd *Cæsar*; which giving a Jealousie to the Senate, they endeavour'd to bribe 'em from him; but he discovering this, unites with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, and by a Proscription most ungratefully gives up *Cicero* to *Anthony*, tho' they say he contended almost three Days for him.

*Cicero* hears of this Proscription at his House near *Tusculum*, his Brother *Quintus* being with him; in their Litters they immediately make for a Country House of *Cicero*'s, near the Sea, call'd *Astura*; but Provisions being short, it was agreed that *Quintus* should go back for Provisions, and *Cicero* go on. *Quintus* a few days after, betray'd by his Servants, was slain; and *Cicero* being carried to *Astura*, and finding a Vessel ready, went immediately on board, and having sail'd as far as *Circium*, he came on shore, and travel'd toward *Rome* a little way; then he turned back to the Sea, and his Servants carried him to *Capua* by Water; when arriving at his Villa, his Servants resolved not to see him murder'd, and for that purpose took him away again in a Litter; but the Assassines being come, and having broke open his Doors, and miss'd him, no body own'd that they knew any thing of him, till *Philologus*, the emancipated Slave of *Quintus*, and who was educated by *Cicero* in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, told *Herennius* the Centurion, and *Popilius* the Tribune, (whom *Cicero* had defended from an Accusation of Parricide) that he was gone in his Litter down the shady Road to the Sea. The Tribune watching with his Guard the place where he was to come out, *Cicero* perceiving him running to the Walks after him, commanded his Servants to set down the Litter; so looking stedfastly on the Murderer, all besides cover'd their Faces, whilst *Herrenius* cut off his Head and Hands, which he carried to *Anthony*, who receiv'd them with an insulting Smile, and order'd them to be fastned over the *Rostra*, where he had pronounced his *Philippicks* against him.

THE

# THE COMPARISON BETWIXT *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero.*

THE Oratory of *Demoſthenes* was plain, and without the Ornaments of the *belle Railerie*, entirely grave and ſerious: *Cicero*'s Fondneſs of Railery carry'd him to Scurrility; and by turning ſerious Arguments into Ridicule, he minded more the Advantage of his Client, than what was decent. *Cicero* was always of a merry pleaſant Temper, and his Countenance ſmiling, and ſerene. The Looks of *Demoſthenes* confeſs'd a perpetual Thoughtfulneſs and Care. *Demoſthenes* ſeldom ſpoke in his own Praiſe, but *Cicero*'s Writings are full of what he had done.

The Integrity and Power of moving and governing People is only try'd in Commands, Civil or Military; *Demoſthenes* never had either. *Cicero* was Quæſtor in *Sicily*, and Proconſul in *Cilicia*, and *Capadocia*; Conſul at home in the *Catalinarian* Conſpiracy with Dictatorial Power: All which he diſcharg'd not only with great Integity, but Wiſdom. *Demoſthenes* was guilty of Avarice and Bribery, writing Orations for two Adverſaries in the ſame Cauſe, receiv'd Bribes from the *Perſian* King, and from *Harpalus*, for the laſt of which he was condemn'd: *Cicero* on the contrary refus'd the Gifts of the *Sicilians*, of the King of *Capadocia*, and of his Friends in *Rome* in his Exile. The Baniſhment of *Demoſthenes* was Infamous, as being convicted of Bribery; but *Cicero*'s the moſt Honourable and Glorious that could be, ſince it was effected by a ſcandalous Faction, for ſaving his Country by ſacrificing of Traytors. *Demoſthenes* indeed in his Exile was active for his Countries Service againſt the *Macedonians*, but *Cicero* ſpent his idly in Retreat.

Their Deaths were pretty equal, it was pitiful to ſee ſo old a Man as *Cicero* hurry'd about by his Servants to avoid Death, which yet met him at laſt; and *Demoſthenes* not being able to find a Sanctuary from the Altars of the Gods, eſcap'd his Enemies by a Poyſon he had prepar'd for that End.

# The LIFE of *ARATUS.*

*Aratus* was the Son of *Clinias*, a Man as Eminent for his Virtue and Nobility as Rich; his Country was *Sicyon*, one of the moſt ancient Cities in the *Peloponneſus*, famous for Oil and Painters. This City had felt many Changes, and Revolutions under a perpetual Succeſſion of Tyranny; nor found they any end of theſe Evils till the Tyrant *Cleon* was kill'd and *Timoclides* and *Clinias* the Father of *Aratus*, Men of Reputation and Power in *Sicyon*, were choſen Governours. But when the City now began to flouriſh under their Adminiſtration, *Timoclides* dy'd, and *Clinias* was murder'd by *Abantidas* the Son of *Paſeas*, who uſurp'd the Tyranny; when ſlaughtering or baniſhing the Friends of *Clinias*, *Aratus*, then a Child but ſeven years of Age, narrowly eſcap'd; for in the Confuſion the Boy got out of his Fathers Houſe with thoſe who fled, and luckily undiſcover'd, into that of a Lady nam'd *Soſo*, the Siſter of *Abantidas*, and Wife to *Prophantus* the Brother of *Clinias*. She took pity of the Child, and convey'd him ſafe to his Fathers Friends at *Argos*, where he was bred up in the *Palæſtra* and *Gymnaſium*, and improv'd ſo far as to win the Prize at the public Games.

In the mean while *Clinias* and *Ariſtotle* the *Logician*, ſlew *Abantidas* the Tyrant in the Market-place, whoſe Father then aſſuming the Goverment, was ſlain by *Nicocles*, who ſet up for Tyrant. *Aratus* by this time was grown a Youth of great Eſteem and Expectation, from his Active Temper, Firmneſs, and Reſolution, which drew the Eyes and Hopes of all the *Sicyonian* Exiles upon him, and made *Nicocles* watch his Motions, fearing his Correſpondence with the Kings who were Friends to his Father; who having put him off with fair Promiſes, he, with other Exiles, by Night ſcale the Walls of *Sicyon*, burn the Tyrants Palace, and ſet their Country free, without Bloodſhed. He recall'd all thoſe whom either *Nicocles* or any of the former Tyrants had baniſh'd; and when

when Diſſentions aroſe betwixt the Recall'd and thoſe who were in Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, *Aratus* could hope no Redreſs of theſe Evils, or Prevention of greater, but from his Favour with *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, whom he had very much engag'd by the Preſents he had made him of fine Pictures and Statues, collecting all the moſt excellent Pieces of that Nature that *Greece* could afford, and ſending them now as well as formerly to *Ptolomy*.

*Frees his Country from Tyranny.*

Depending, therefore, on this Intereſt in *Ptolomy*, he took Shipping, and with ſome Difficulty and Hazard got into *Ægypt*, and prevail'd with the King to give 150 Talents for the Relief of his City. Forty he brought with him; and the reſt were ſent in ſeveral Parcels. By this Money he effected a Reconcilation betwixt the Poor and the Rich, putting an end to all Diſputes about the Poſſeſſions, by making the Mony given by the King of *Ægypt* even all Accounts. For which his Fellow-Citizens decreed him particular and public Honours, and erected to him a Statue of Braſs, on which was this Inſcription,

*Enriches it by his Favour with Ptolomy*

*Thy Vigour, Counſel, and thy Deeds of War,*
*Fame to the Weſtern Ocean now does bear;*
*But to thy Juſtice and thy Virtue we*
*Erect this Statue for our Liberty;*
*For to thy Country thou haſt Freedom given,*
*And rais'd its Glory to the Vaults of Heaven.*

*Aratus* was always for the public Good above the private; a mortal Hater of *Tyrants*; the public Good was the meaſure of his Friendſhips and Enmities; ſo that by the Conſent of Nations, the Cities, the Senate, and Theatre do unanimouſly proclaim, that *Aratus* was a Lover of Noble Actions alone; undaunted in ſecret (tho' difficult) Attempts, yet diffident in War and open Force; being the moſt excellent of all Commanders for deſtroying Tyrants, and reducing Cities.

*His Character.*

As he willingly enjoy'd the Favour of *Ptolomy*, ſo *Antigonus* ſeem'd to ſtrive for his Friendſhip, by preſſing Benefits upon him againſt his Inclination; and made public Boaſts (on purpoſe to make him ſuſpected to *Ptolomy*) that he was actually in League with him.

*Aratus* being now firſt choſen General by the *Achæans*, plunder'd *Locris*, which lies exactly againſt them, and *Calydonia*. Then coming too late to the Aſſiſtance of the *Bœotians*, he reſolv'd (being the next year choſen General again) to attempt the ſurprizing of the Fortreſs or Caſtle of *Corinth*, call'd

call'd the *Acro-corinthus*, to take off by that means the *Macedonian* Yoke from all *Greece*; for *Philip* the Younger juſtly call'd *Corinth* the Fetters of *Greece*, and *Antigonus* got poſſeſſion of the *Acro-Corinthus* by Stratagem, not hoping to gain it by Force. The *Acro-Corinthus* is a ſtrong Caſtle on a Hill in the *Iſthmus*, which hinders all Inroads into the *Peloponeſus*, or lets in whom it pleaſes. For this Reaſon *Aratus* reſolv'd to get the Poſſeſſion of it, which he accompliſh'd by theſe means. There happen'd to be then at *Corinth* four Brothers, who were *Syrians* by Birth, of whom *Diocles* was a Soldier in the Garriſon of the *Acro-corinthus*; but the other three having robb'd the Kings Treaſury, fled to *Sicyon*, and ſold the Gold to *Ægias* Banker to *Aratus*. *Erginus*, one of the Brothers, was by this means brought to *Aratus*, and agreed for threeſcore Talents if they ſucceeded, and twenty if they miſcarry'd, and came off ſafe. But *Aratus* wanting Money to compleat the Sum, pawn'd his Plate and Wives Jewels to *Ægias*. The time of putting this Deſign in Execution being come, and all things in readineſs, *Aratus* with four hundred choſen Men approach'd the Gates of *Juno*'s Temple in the Night. *Erginus* with ſeven young Men cloath'd like Travellers, came to the Gates, and killing the Centinel and the Guard, Ladders were clapt to the Walls, and *Aratus* and an hundred Men got up undiſcover'd; but now climbing ſteep and craggy Rocks, *Aratus* got to the Caſtle, and while he was engag'd with the Garriſon, his other Men came up to him, and with great Shouts, and vigorous Aſſaults, beat the Enemy from the Walls, and took the *Acro-Corinthus*. By break of day the reſt of his Army came up from *Sicyon*, and were receiv'd into the City with the Applauſe of the *Corinthians*, who aſſiſted them in ſecuring the reſt of the King's Party. *The Acro Corinthians taken.*

Having made all things ſure in the *Acro-Corinthus*, he came down to the Theatre to harangue the People, who were there met in great multitudes to receive him; as they did with continu'd Shouts and Applauſes; reſting on his Spear till thoſe were over, then he made a Speech to them to unite with the *Achæan* Commonwealth, which they agreeing to, he deliver'd the Keys of their Gate to them, which from the Time of *Philip* had been in the Hands of Strangers. He immediately ſecur'd the Harbour of *Lechæum*, and 25 of the Kings Ships, five hundred Horſes, and four hundred *Syrian* Slaves, whom he ſold; ſo putting a Garriſon of four hundred *Achæans*, fifty Dogs, and as many Keepers of them, into the *Acro-Corinthus*, the *Greeks* ſoon ſaw the good Effect of this Action, for the *Megarians* revolted from the *Macedonian*,

*donian*, and the *Troezenians* and *Epidaurians* united themſelves into the *Achæan* State. His firſt Inroad was into *Attica*, thence paſſing to *Salamis*, he plunder'd the Iſland, bringing no ſmall Spoils from thence. He fixt *Ptolomy* in their Intereſt, and made him choſe *Generaliſſimo*, *Aratus* himſelf being choſe their General every other year, the Law forbidding that any one ſhould be choſen every year.

Being concern'd that *Argos*, where he had been bred, ſhould ſtill remain Vaſſal to a Tyrant, when all the Neighbouring Cities were now ſet at Liberty, he muſters his *Achæans*, and doubts not but the *Argives* would join him in their own Reſcue from *Ariſtippus*, a Tyrant greater and more inſupportable than *Ariſtomacus*, whom his Servants at laſt kill'd, tho' he had eſcap'd the Plots of ſome of the braveſt of the *Argives*; but they had been ſo long oppreſs'd with Slavery, that they had loſt all thoughts and reliſh of Liberty; ſo that he was diſappointed in his Expectation, and the *Achæans* fined thirty *Minæ* for Acts of Hoſtility in Time of Peace.

This, and his fear of *Aratus*, put *Ariſtippus* on many Attempts of killing him; but the Love of the People made their Zeal ſo watchful of him, that ſeeing with many Eyes, he ſlept in Calmneſs and Security, when the Tyrant was uneaſie and fearful in his Bed, notwithſtanding his numerous Guards, and the Friendſhip of *Antigonus*.

*Aratus* in the Night ſcaling the Walls of *Argos*, and killing the Guards that defended them, the Morning came on, and an obſtinate Fight was maintain'd by him, tho' wounded in the Thigh, till the following Night; when wanting Water and Intelligence, that the Tyrant was Shipping off his Goods with intention to flie, he retir'd, and fell to plunder the Country; when coming to a Battel with the Tyrant near the River *Chares*, he abandon'd certain Victory by retiring to his Camp, when one part of his Army had viſibly the better; and the next day but one, drawing out to fight them for the Trophy, he only begg'd a Truce to bury the Dead. Yet he cover'd this Fault by his Courteſie and Dexterity of managing Affairs, brings over thoſe of *Cleonæ* to the Body of the *Achæans*, and celebrates the *Nemæan* Games there, as the ancient Place of their Celebration.

*Worſted by Ariſtippus.*

*Ariſtippus* believing *Aratus* was march'd another way with his Army, as he had given out, beſieges *Cleonæ*, but *Aratus* returning to *Corinth* in the dark of the Evening, got into *Cleonæ* in the Night; in the Morning ſallying out, put the Tyrant to flight, and purſuing him as far as *Mycenæ*, *Ariſtippus* was there kill'd by a Cretan call'd *Tragiſcus*, by this redeeming his former Miſcarriage.

*Ariſtippus kill'd.*

Having

Having thus deſtroy'd *Ariſtippus*, he reſolv'd to free the *Megalopolitans* from *Lyſiades*; but he uſurping the Power, not out of Avarice or Ambition, as others, but out of Opinion of ſome mighty Pleaſure in it; weary of the weight, and fearing the Policy of *Aratus*, ſent for him, and into his Hands reſign'd the Government and incorporated the City into the *Achæan* Commonwealth. Deſigning to emulate and out-go the Glory of *Aratus*, raſhly declar'd War againſt the *Lacedemonians*, being choſen General one year, as *Aratus* was the other; and *Lyſiades* having had this Honour three times, oppos'd and accus'd *Aratus*, by which he loſt the Favour of the *Achæans*; for *Lyſiades* having once been a Tyrant, was always fear'd as aiming again at Tyranny.

Lyſiades *reſigns the Tyranny of* Megalopolis.

The *Ætolian* War got him Reputation, for they having taken *Pellène* by ſurprize, and plundring the Town, raviſhing the Women, and indulging their Debauchery, *Aratus* comes upon them, puts them to an entire Rout, and reſcues the Town. But many and great Nations joining againſt the *Achæans*, *Aratus* makes Peace with the *Ætolians*, and a Confederacy betwixt the two Nations.

Having likewiſe a deſire to ſet *Athens* free from the *Macedonian* Yoke, he twice attempted it in vain; but *Demetrius* being dead, the *Athenians* call'd him in to their Aſſiſtance, and being brought in a Litter, he prevail'd with *Diogenes* the *Macedonian* Governour to deliver up the *Pyræum*, *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sunium*, to the *Athenians* for 150 Talents, of which *Aratus* gave the City twenty Talents. The *Hermonians* and *Æginetæ* on this join'd themſelves to the *Achæans*, and moſt part of *Arcadia* became Tributary to them; by all which, and the *Macedonians* being diverted by nearer Wars, the *Achæan* Power encreas'd.

*Ariſtomachus* having uſurp'd *Argos* after the Death of *Ariſtippus*, he by his Perſuaſion quitted the Tyranny; his City was likewiſe incorporated into the *Achæan* Community, and *Ariſtomachus* choſen General: Who reſolving to fall on *Laconia*, ſent for *Aratus* from *Athens*, but he perſuaded him not to quarrel with *Cleomenes*, a Prince of a daring Spirit and very great Power; but not being able to prevail, he obey'd, and ſerv'd in Perſon under *Ariſtomachus*. But *Aratus* hinder'd him from engaging *Cleomenes*, when he came on a ſudden upon them near *Pallantium*, for which *Lyſiades* accus'd him, and oppos'd his Election the next Year in vain, *Aratus* being choſen General by the majority. *Cleomenes* routed *Aratus* near *Lycæum*, but flying away, and thought dead, he rallied his Men, and ſurpriz'd the City of *Mantinea*, then in alliance with *Sparta*.

Aratus *beaten by* Cleomenes, *yet takes* Mantinea.

The

The *Lacedemonians* again invading the *Megalopolitans*, *Aratus* could not be brought to a Battel by *Cleomenes*, or the Importunity of those of *Megalopolis*, tho' the light-arm'd Soldiers had driven the *Spartans* even to their Tents; upon which *Lysiades*, with such as would follow him, pursu'd 'em so far, and with so little Caution, that he was routed and kill'd by *Cleomenes*; and the flying *Megalopolitans* putting the main Body into Confusion, they were all beaten from the Field.

*Aratus* was so blam'd for this Action, that they in Council decreed, That he should have no more Men nor Money, but if he would carry on the War, he should pay for't himself. Affronted at this, he at first design'd to throw up his Command, but conquering first his Resentment, he soon after, at *Orchomenos*, vanquish'd and took Prisoner *Megistonus* the Father-in-law of *Cleomenes*.

*Takes Megistonus Prisoner.*

*Aratus* being again call'd in his Turn to the Generalship, refus'd to accept it, endeavouring to persuade the *Achæans* to seek the Help of *Antigonus*, a Foreigner and *Macedonian*, against *Cleomenes* a *Spartan*, and of the Race of *Hercules*; *Cleomenes* recovers *Mantinea*, and gets so considerable a Victory near *Hecatombeum*, that the *Argives* sent to him to come and take the Government upon him; but *Aratus* prevail'd so far, that when he with his Army was come as far as *Lerna*, Ambassadors met him, to desire him to come with only 300. Affronted at this, he did such execution on the *Achæans*, that all their Affairs were in Confusion; and the *Argives* joyn'd him, and many other Cities, even *Sicyon* itself, were conspiring to revolt to him; but *Aratus* receiving full Power to punish the Traytors, put many to death in that City. But going on the same Business to *Corinth*, he narrowly escap'd with his Life back to *Sicyon*, being pursued by the *Corinthians*, who missing him, immediately sent for *Cleomenes*, and deliver'd the City to him; and being strengthen'd by the coming in of the Cities on the *Corinthian* Shore, he built a Wall round the Citadel or *Acro-corinthus*, being unable to attack it.

*Aratus* being got to *Sicyon*, was again chosen General with absolute Power, but the *Ætolians* refus'd to assist him, and the *Athenians*, tho' willing, were hindred by *Euclides* and *Micion*. Hower, *Aratus* could not be prevail'd with by *Cleomenes* to get him chosen General of the *Achæans*, tho' he proffer'd him a yearly Pension double to what he had from *Ptolomy*. Yet being summon'd to a Council of the *Achæans* held at *Ægium*, he ventur'd, contrary to the Entreaty of all his own People, to go thither, and there by his Influence it was

was agreed to call *Antigonus* into the *Peloponneſus* againſt *Cleomenes*, and to give into his Hands the *Acro-Corinthus*; to this purpoſe he ſent his Son to the King of *Macedon*. The *Corinthians* enrag'd at this, gave his Houſe to *Cleomenes*, and plunder'd his Goods, which the *Spartan* King till that had kept inviolate for him.

*Antigonus* coming to *Pegæ*, *Aratus* and others went to meet him there, where he was receiv'd with all the diſtinguiſhing marks of Favour, and afterward particularly valu'd for his good Parts by the King of *Macedon*, who made more uſe of his Advice, than of that of any of the *Achæans* or *Macedonians* themſelves; and at a Feaſt at *Corinth* cover'd himſelf and *Aratus*, who was plac'd next above him, with the ſame Counterpain, the Weather being cold.

*Is receiv'd favourably by* Antigonus.

During their Skirmiſhes with *Cleomenes*, *Aratus* receives Advice from his Friend *Ariſtotle* at *Argos*, That if he would come to their Aſſiſtance he would make the *Argives* revolt; ſo *Antigonus* giving him 1500 Men, he ſail'd from the *Iſthmus* to *Argos*, but the *Argives* had already by a ſuddain Inſurrection driven the *Spartan* Garriſon into the Citadel. But *Cleomenes* marching with diſpatch upon this News, found that *Aratus* had got to *Argos* before him, ſo that he retreated to *Mantinea*; and all the Cities again declaring for the *Achæans*, *Aratus* was again choſen General; and the *Acro-Corinthus* was put into poſſeſſion of *Antigonus*; and the Eſtates of the Tyrants and Traytors were made a Preſent to him by the Intereſt of *Aratus*; who was blam'd for the Death of *Ariſtomachus*; who, after having been put to the Rack, was drown'd, by thoſe of *Cenchreæ*, for giving *Corinth* into the *Macedonians* hands, and for ſuffering them to put a Garriſon into *Orchomenos*, and many a more-ſervile Complaiſance to *Antigonus*, as calling *Mantinea*, *Antigonea*; putting to Death ſome, and ſelling others, of the Inhabitants, and the like. But *Antigonus* having ſhown all manner of Reſpect and Civility to *Aratus*, retir'd home to *Macedon*, and ſent his Son *Philip* into *Greece*, to be directed by *Aratus*, who ſent him back very well inclin'd both to him and his Country.

The *Achæans* being now diſſolute, and depending more on the Arms of Foreigners than their own, the *Ætolians* invaded the *Peloponneſus*, and beſieg'd the *Meſſenians*, and gave a Defeat to *Aratus* himſelf when he came to their Relief. Upon this, Help was again ſought from *Macedon*; and *Antigonus* the Younger being dead, *Philip* his Son and Heir came into *Greece*; who for a while is govern'd by the Counſel of *Aratus*, and puniſhes his Courtiers for affronting

him. But being ſoon after exalted with the Succeſs of his Affairs, his natural Vices appear'd, firſt injuring *Aratus* the Younger in his Wife; then grew more untractable in Public Affairs, giving plain Proofs that he would throw off *Aratus*. Firſt he ſomented the Feuds betwixt the *Meſſenian* Magiſtrates and People, on which both *Aratus* and his Son bitterly reproach'd him; which *Philip*, being a crafty Prince, diſſembled; and taking *Aratus* the Elder with him to *Ithome*, a place capable of being made as ſtrong as the *Acro-Corinthus*, advis'd with him about it; which *Aratus* diſſuading, and perſuading the giving up of even the later, *Philip* diſcover'd ſo much Reſentment, that *Aratus* forbore coming any more to Court. But when *Philip* had loſt his Fleet to the *Romans*, and miſcarry'd in many other deſigns, he return'd to the *Peloponneſus*, and ravag'd the Country, when he could not win the *Meſſenians* by his Artifices; then *Aratus* fell plainly out with him, and renounc'd his Friendſhip. *Philip* on this Account believing himſelf not to be at Liberty to Tyrannize whilſt he was alive, nor daring to kill him openly, employ'd *Taurion*, under the covert of pretended Friendſhip, to give him a lingring Poiſon, of which he dy'd at *Ægium*. Before which he ſaid to a Friend that wonder'd at the Ingratitude of *Philip*, *Theſe are the Rewards of a King's Love*. He was bury'd with great Pomp and Solemnity in *Sicyon*, where there are Annually two Feaſts kept to his Memory, as Founder and Deliverer of their City.

Aratus *leaves the* Macedonian *Court.*

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The

# The LIFE of *ARTAXERXES.*

*ARtaxerxes Monemon* was the Son of *Darius* by *Paryſatis*, the Daughter of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Paryſatis* brought *Darius*, beſides three other Sons nam'd *Cyrus*, *Oſtanes*, and *Oxathres*. *Artaxerxes* was at firſt call'd *Arſicas*. *Cyrus*, as he was his Mother's Favourite, ſo from his Childhood was of a fierce and violent Temper; *Artaxerxes* on the contrary was more gentle, ſoft, and almoſt effeminate in his Paſſions; having marry'd a beautiful Lady by his Parents conſent. When *Darius* had put to Death her Brother, and deſign'd her the ſame Fate, *Arſicas* pleaded with ſo pathetic a Paſſion, and ſo many Tears, to his Mother, that her Sentence was not only remitted, but he permitted ſtill to enjoy his Wife. *Paryſatis* endeavouring to fix her beloved *Cyrus* on the Throne, *Darius* being ill, declar'd *Arſicas* his Succeſſor, changing his Name into *Artaxerxes*.

*Cyrus* being ſent far from *Lydia* and the *Maritime* Countries under his Command, by his Mother, with full hopes of ſucceeding, ſuffer'd his diſappointment of the Crown to tranſport him to a Plot on his Brother's Life, which being diſcover'd, he was condemn'd to Death, but pardon'd by his Mother's earneſt Mediation, and ſent back to his Government.

But here being uneaſie, ſtill aſpiring to the Kingdom, and forgetting his Pardon in his Reſentment of the Chains, he made Preparations for attempting the Crown by force, hiring many *Greeks*, *Macedonians* and others; and tho' *Tiſaphernes* gave the King notice of his Practices, yet *Paryſatis* found means of turning all the Suſpicion of her beloved Son, and aggravated his Complaints of *Tiſaphernes*. The King had a ſort of natural Dilatorineſs, which ſome miſtook for Clemency; and in the beginning of his Reign he was eaſie of acceſs, extreamly bountiful in rewarding Merit, and even obliging in his Puniſhments, and ſeem'd more pleas'd with giving than receiving Gifts: Yet he always receiv'd

*His Quality.*

them in ſo engaging a manner, that he oblig'd the Giver, receiving the leaſt Gift with a Royal Grace. When *Omiſes* had preſented him a Pomgranate of a very great magnitude, *This Man*, ſaid he, *would ſoon make a great City of a ſmall, were he entruſted with it*; and a Poor Man having nothing to preſent him in his Progreſs, ran to the River-ſide and brought him ſome Water in his Hand, he return'd him a Goblet of Maſſy Gold, and a thouſand *Darius*'s.

In the mean while *Cyrus*, at the Head of 13000 *Greeks*, and an infinite number of *Barbarians*, march'd forward, pretending now one Cauſe, and then another of his March. But *Tiſaphernes* in a little time went to the King, and inform'd him of the true Cauſe, which putting the Court in an uproar, *Statira* reproach'd *Paryſatis*, as being the Cauſe of all this Trouble, by delivering with her Interceſſion a Traytor from Puniſhment; which *Paryſatis*, incapable of forgiving, took an opportunity to Revenge after the War.

The King at laſt, rous'd by approaching Danger, drew out an Army of 900000 well-arm'd Men, and after *Cyrus* had paſs'd the Lines drawn to hinder his Paſſage, ten Fathoms broad, as many deep, and four hundred Furlongs in length, meeting at *Cunaxa*, they join'd in Battel, which remaining long and doubtful, the King's Forces giving in ſome parts Ground to the *Greeks*, and the King himſelf wounded, *Cyrus* ſure of Victory, was firſt wounded in one of his Temples by *Mithridates* a young *Perſian*, and ſoon after wounded behind by ſome *Caunians*, he fell down with his Temple on a Rock, and dy'd. Others ſay, that the King kill'd him in a Fight, Hand to Hand.

*The Death of* Cyrus.

*Artaxerxes* hearing of the Death of *Cyrus*, attended with many Torches (for the Battel continu'd after Night) wounded as he was, he commanded his Head and right Hand to be cut off, and taking the Head by the Hair, he ſhew'd it his Men, to ſtop them who were yet flying. On this, about ſeventy thouſand ſoon rally'd about him, and enter'd the Camp again together, he having led out to Battel 400000 according to ſome; according to others, 900000; there being ſlain on the place 9000, or as others, 20000.

*Artaxerxes* had a vehement deſire to have the World believe that he had kill'd his Brother Hand to Hand receiving one Wound himſelf, and giving two. For this Reaſon he gave large Preſents to *Mithridates* for his ſilence of giving the firſt Wound, and for finding and bringing him the Horſe Trappings of *Cyrus*. The *Caunian*, who with a Wound in the Ham had compleated his Death, was executed for pretending to have had a hand in it; and being deliver'd over to *Pary-*

*Paryſatis*, ſhe caus'd him to be put to a horrid and lingring Death of ten days. *Mithridates* ſoon after, in his Cups, pretending to have kill'd *Cyrus*, artfully provok'd to it by the Queen-Mothers Eunuch, was ſentenc'd to the moſt inhumane Death of the *Boats*, devour'd by Flies, Worms, and Vermin for ſeventeen days, when he expir'd. The Revenge of *Paryſatis* extended ev'n to *Meſabates* the Eunuch, who by the Kings Command had cut off the Head and Hand of *Cyrus*, winning him of *Artaxerxes* at play; and having flead him before the King knew any thing of it, which tho' he paſs'd over, yet *Statira* could not bear their ſacrificing Loyal Subjects to the Ghoſt of a Rebel. But *Paryſatis* would not ſpare even her contriving to poyſon her, of which ſhe dy'd: One of the Maids of *Paryſatis* was put to Death for it, and ſhe herſelf baniſh'd to *Babylon*.

To theſe Murders thoſe of the *Greek* Officers, betray'd into his hands by the Perjury of *Tiſaphernes*, may be added; but thoſe who eſcap'd made a noble Retreat, and return'd into *Greece*; by this, plainly proving that the Grandeur and Power of *Perſia* depended only on their Gold, Treaſure, and Luxury, and that they had nothing remaining but Sloath, Pride, and Vain-boaſting; on which the *Grecians* began to deſpiſe them, and the *Lacedemonians* in particular to have thoughts of ſetting the *Aſiatic Greeks* free from the *Perſian* Yoke. But *Thimbron* and *Dercylidas* making nothing of it, the War was committed to *Ageſilaus* their King; who raiſing an Army, paſs'd over into *Aſia*, and engaging in Fight with *Tiſaphernes*, he routed his Army, and afterwards took many Towns. *The Cauſe of the War with Perſia.*

*Artaxerxes* ſoon found that he muſt employ other Arms againſt the *Lacedemonians*, ſends *Hermocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece* with a vaſt Treaſure of Gold, and order'd him to win the leading Men of the Cities with large and liberal Bribes, to raiſe a Confederate War againſt *Sparta*; which taking effect, *Ageſilaus*, in the full tide of his Glory and Victory, was by the *Ephori* commanded home to defend his own Country; which made *Ageſilaus* ſay, *That he was driven out of* Aſia *by* 30000 *Archers*, the *Perſian* Money being ſtamp'd with an Archer.

But *Artaxerxes* getting the better of the *Spartans* in a Sea-fight, under the Conduct of *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, depriv'd them of the Empire of the Sea, and reduc'd all the Aſiatic Cities and adjacent Iſles to his Obedience, and had it confirm'd by the Peace of *Antalcidas*, ſo call'd from a *Lacedemonian* of that Name, who made it, and was ſo much in Favour for it with *Artaxerxes*, that he call'd him his Friend;

but as ſoon as the *Spartans* had loſt the Empire of *Greece*, and were beaten at the Battel of *Leuctra*, he deſpis'd him and his Country, and deny'd him Money for them; on which *Antalcidas* pin'd away, and dy'd. *Artaxerxes* gave *Timagoras* of *Athens*, for ſome ſecret Intelligence, 10000 *Darius*'s, a Bed-Furniture, Valets, Chair-men to carry him quite to the Sea, and fourſcore Milch-Cows to ſupply him with Milk all the way, his Diſtemper requiring it; but *Athens* condemn'd him to Death for Bribery. But amidſt all the Plagues the *Great King* brought on the *Greeks*, he gratify'd them in putting to Death their great Enemy *Tiſaphernes*.

*Paryſatis* being recall'd to Court by the King, found that he was in Love with his own Daughter *Atoſſa*, and therefore ſeem'd more fond of that Grand-daughter, extolling her to him, perſuaded him to marry her, and declare her his Lawful Wife, he being the great Arbiter of Good and Evil to the *Perſians*. He prov'd ſo fond of *Atoſſa*, that he was not at all offended at the Leproſie that had ſpread all over her, but offer'd Sacrifices to *Juno* for her.

*He marry's his own daughter.*

He made War in *Ægypt* by *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates*, but was beaten by their Diſſention. In the Expedition therefore againſt the *Caduſians* he led his Army himſelf; but that Country being more fertile of Warlike Men than Proviſions, the Army of *Artaxerxes* was reduc'd to ſo great Neceſſities, that an Aſſes Head was ſold for forty Shillings, and all the Horſes almoſt devour'd; when the King, by a Stratagem of *Teribazus*, was deliver'd from imminent Ruin; for he went to one of the Kings of the *Caduſians*, and his Son to the other, and perſuaded each that the other was making ſeperate Peace with *Artaxerxes*; ſo that they both did it at the ſame time, for which the King gave them large Rewards.

In his Return into the *Perſian* Dominions, he, notwithſtanding all his Imperial Robes and Ornaments, underwent as much Labour as the meaneſt of his Army, by which he made his Men more chearful, and leſs ſenſible of their Toils. When he was return'd into his own Kingdom, he ſacrific'd many of his Princes and great Men to his Jealouſie, that they peſpis'd him for his ill Fortune in theſe Expeditions.

*Artaxerxes* being old, underſtood that his Sons already made Parties for the Crown; it was the Due of *Darius*, as the Eldeſt; but the Youngeſt, *Ochus*, was not without his Partizans, eſpecially *Atoſſa*, whom he promis'd to make his Wife and Queen if he ſucceeded. But to prevent the ſame which had happen'd to him with *Cyrus*, he immediately declar'd *Darius* his Heir, and order'd him to wear the Royal Robe, and Hat cock'd-up.

*Darius* being according to Custom to ask a Boon, which was not to be deny'd, he desir'd *Aspasia*, the most belov'd Mistress of *Cyrus*, and then the Kings Concubine, which offended the King, tho' he had a *Seraglio* of 360 Beauties; he told him therefore, that *Aspasia* was a free Woman, and no Slave, but that if she would go with him, she might, but he could not force her. She, contrary to his Expectation, went with *Darius*; but the King soon after took her from him, and made her Priestess to *Diana* of *Ecbatane*, or *Anitis*.

This so much disgusted *Darius*, that he gave open Ear to the Insinuations of *Teribazus*, provok'd against the King in a like nature, the King having marry'd *Amestris*, another of his Daughters, tho' he had promis'd her to *Teribazus*; so that he push'd on the Resentment of the Prince against his Father so far, as to enter into a Combination against his Life; which being discover'd by an Ennuch, by whom coming to a perfect knowledge of the Conspirators, he retreated by a private Door, and rais'd the Court, who pursuing the Traytors, *Teribazus* was kill'd fighting, and *Darius* condemn'd to Death, and executed in Prison.

*His Son conspires his death.*

*Artaxerxes* had yet one lawful Son besides *Ochus*, call'd *Ariaspes*, and a natural Son call'd *Arsames*; the first was dear to the *Persians* for his Gentleness, Good-Nature, and Plain-dealing; the later for his Wisdom, who was likewise dear to his Father. But *Ochus* took care to remove those Obstacles to his Ambition; He therefore by secret Messages persuaded *Ariaspes*, that the King design'd to put him to an ignominious Death, which terrify'd him so, that he poison'd himself. The King suspecting the Cause of this, became more fond of *Arsames*, plac'd his greatest Confidence in him, and communicated his most secret Designs to him. This provoking *Ochus* beyond Patience, he had him kill'd by *Arsaces* the Son of *Teribazus*; which broke the old Kings Heart, for at the News he expir'd in Grief, in his ninty fourth year of Life, and seventy second of his Reign.

# The LIFE of DION.

*Dion* was the Son of *Biparinus*, and Brother to *Ariſtomache* the Wife of *Dionyſius* the Elder; which Relation drew the Reſpect and Deference of all Men to him. But the Excellence of his Manners, the Greatneſs of his Soul, and the Wiſdom of his Advice, gave him ſo great Favour with *Dionyſius*, that he granted whatever he ask'd of him. He marry'd his Neice *Arete* Daughter to *Ariſtomache*, after ſhe had been Widow to *Thearides* the Brother of *Dionyſius* the Younger. This Intermarriage and near Relation, join'd with his Virtue and Prudence, gave him a Liberty of ſpeaking, which the Tyrant bore from no body elſe.

*Dionyſius* the Elder being dead, *Dion* paid the ſame Faith and Love to *Dionyſius* the Younger which he had done to his Father; and endeavour'd to bring him to a Taſte of Philoſophy and Liberal Arts: He adviſ'd him to ſend for the Philoſopher *Plato* to *Sicily*, and to ſurrender himſelf entirely to his Inſtructions, with a Deſign that he ſhould, by gaining Wiſdom and Virtue and from him, and conforming himſelf to ſo divine an Example, become a Lawful Prince of a Tyrant; becauſe the Love of the People, not the Number of the Guards, makes a Kingdom of a longeſt duration.

*He is Scholar to* Plato.

By theſe means *Dion* began to correct the Mind of the Young Prince, ſwelling with Licenſe and Power. *Dion* was rough in Converſation, grave in his Addreſs, and by Conſequence his Acquaintance wanted thoſe graceful Charms which that of the more polite and refin'd affords. But being bred under *Plato*, in the Time of *Dionyſius* the Elder, he ſurpaſs'd all his Fellow-Scholars, both in Induſtry and Capacity. Which was the Reaſon: that he fir'd young *Dionyſius* with ſuch a Deſire of ſeeing him, that he reſolv'd to ſend for him from *Greece*.

But

But the Enemies of *Dion* being afraid of his Power, and that he ſhould win the young Prince to himſelf, endeavour'd to render him odious, and ſuſpected to *Dionyſius*, filling his Ears with perpetual Accuſations. So finding that their ſecret Inſinuations found no Credit with *Dionyſius*, and that he receiv'd *Plato* into his Court in his Body-Coach, with all the Marks of Honour he could give him, and had entirely given himſelf up to the Conduct of his Precepts; *Philiſtus*, a Man of Letters, but a violent defender of Arbitrary Government, and the reſt of that Party, foreſeeing the Change of the young Prince, in the Hands and Converſation of *Plato*, broke out into open Reproaches and Accuſations of *Dion*, that he employ'd the Eloquence of *Plato* to dull and amuſe *Dionyſius*, while he eſtabliſh'd the Royalty in the Children of *Ariſtomache*.

In the mean while, *Dion*'s Letters to the *Carthaginian* Governours were privately convey'd to *Dionyſius*; in which he deſir'd them, That if they hop'd an Accommodation with *Dionyſius*, they ſhould not treat without his Knowledge, who would take care all ſhould be agreed: *Dionyſius*, now corrupted by the Accuſers of *Dion*, had very much remitted his Inclinations for him; he therefore, when he had read theſe Letters, ſends for *Dion*, pretending Buſineſs of Importance with him, walks with him to the Sea-ſide, and ſhewing him the Letter, expreſs'd his Reſentment ſo far, as not to hear a word he would ſay in his Juſtification, but forcing him on Ship-board, order'd him to be carry'd into *Italy*. *He is ſent into Exile.*

Not only the Ladies at Court reſented this Uſage of *Dion*, but all the People murmur'd at it ſo far, that *Dionyſius* afraid of an Inſurrection, perſuaded them that *Dion* was not baniſh'd, but ſent only out of the way, that he might not be liable to any hard Effects of his Paſſion, but that he ſhould be recall'd. He likewiſe gave two Ships to his Relations, with permiſſion to ſend him what they thought fit of his Eſtate, Goods, and Servants; for *Dion* was very rich, and his Pomp and Equipage little inferiour to that of the King himſelf. As theſe Riches got him great Honour from the *Grecians*, ſo they gave a Specimen of the great Splendor and Grandeur of the Court of *Dionyſius*, when a Subject and Exile was ſo magnificent.

*Plato* being now remov'd into the Caſtle, under pretence of Friendſhip, but really to hinder his following *Dion*, the Tyrant at laſt ſent him back to *Greece* upon the breaking out of War, giving his Word to recall *Dion* as ſoon as he had ſettled a Peace; but that in the mean while he ſhould be Plato *ſent back to Greece*

quiet

quiet, and ſay nothing ill of him among the *Grecians*. He ſent him alſo every year the Revenue of his Eſtate.

*Dion* being at *Athens*, was at the Expence of, and manag'd a Play deſign'd by *Plato* for the Youth. He viſited likewiſe ſeveral other Cities of *Greece*, and was entertain'd at their Public Aſſemblies by the Stateſmen and thoſe of the beſt Quality, and believ'd nothing unworthy his Quality or Character, ſhewing always a great deal of Modeſty, Generoſity and Bravery. Thus gaining the Love of all Men, he is made a Citizen of *Sparta*, tho' *Dionyſius* aided them at that time in their Wars againſt the *Thebans*.

But *Dionyſius*, envious and fearful of his Intereſt among the *Greeks*, ſoon after put a ſtop to his Revenue; afterwards he ſold *Dions* Eſtate, and apply'd the Money to his own Uſe; and next he forc'd *Arete* to marry *Timocrates*, a Favourite of his. *Dion* being thus ſufficiently provok'd, and underſtanding the Inclinations of the *Syracuſians* to a Revolt, began to raiſe Men clandeſtinely by his Friends in ſeveral Parts of the *Peloponneſus*. But now meeting all at their Rendezvous in *Zacinthus*, to the number of eight hundred, and being inform'd whither the Expedition was bound, they ſeem ſurpriz'd and unwilling to run the Hazard againſt ſo powerful a Prince with ſuch a handful of Men; but *Dion* made a Speech to them, ſhewing them the weak ſtate of Tyranny, where every one would join with him who ſhould appear for their Reſcue; whom *Alcimenes*, a Greek Nobleman, ſeconded, and appeas'd all their Fears.

Dion *prepar'd to go againſt* Dionyſius.

*Dion* here ſacrifices to *Appollo*, and after the Sacrifice he feaſted all his Soldiers; the Magnificence and plenty of Gold and Silver Veſſels made uſe of, perſuaded them, that the Maſter of ſo much Riches would not hazard all on a fooliſh Undertaking, which gave them freſh Courage.

*Dion* having therefore put his Men on board, after a tedious Voyage, and being toſs'd to and fro, arriv'd at *Minoa*, a Town of *Sicily* in Poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*; but his landing being oppos'd, he being yet unknown, he forc'd his way to Shoar, and finding *Synalus* his Acquaintance Governour of it, he reſtor'd it to him, and learnt from him, that *Dionyſius* was lately ſail'd with eighty Ships to *Italy*. This News made his Men eager to ſet forward immediately for *Syracuſe*. On the way, two hundred Horſe of the *Agrigentines* near *Ecnomus*, join'd them; and after them the *Geloans*, the *Camarineans*, and many of the Territory of *Syracuſe* it ſelf; and when he halted at the River *Anapus* and ſacrific'd, there had join'd him near five thouſand Men; where all crown'd themſelves with Garlands, and march'd on. *Timocrates* unable

to

to make his way to the Caſtle, fled away, and the Citizens meeting him at the Gate, introduc'd him into the City with all the Pomp, as if they had already got the Victory; and the Noiſe of the People being quieted by the Trumpets, a Proclamation was made, That *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to deſtroy the Tyrannical Goverment, did declare, That *Syracuſians*, and all other *Sicilians*, were free from Slavery and Arbitrary Power. As he went up to the *Acradina* to harangue the People, they ſacrific'd on both ſides of the Street, ſtrow'd Flowers and Garlands on them as they paſs'd, and look'd on *Dion* as a God or Genius of *Syracuſe*. When he had in a Speech exhorted them to exert their Liberty, and act like Men, they choſe *Dion* and *Megacles* Generals, and at their deſire twenty Collegues.

Syracuſe and all Sicily declar'd free.

*Dionyſius* in the mean while arrives from *Italy* with his Fleet, and gets into the Caſtle, yet held in his Name. And *Dion* receiv'd the Carriages with the Arms, and Munition left with *Synalus* at *Minoa*. *Dionyſius* ſent to treat with *Dion*, but he referr'd him to the People, who were now free and able to tranſact for themſelves. The Tyrant propos'd to them an Abatement of Taxes and Immunities; they diſdaining the Propoſal, *Dion* let him know, that nothing but his reſigning the Goverment would ſatisfie them; with which ſeeming to comply, he deſir'd ſome of the *Syracuſians* to come into the Citadel to conſult with him for the Public Good; which being agreed to, and ſome of the Citizens deputed and enter'd, *Dionyſius* clapt them in Priſon; mean while the People flatter'd themſelves that the Tyrant would make a voluntary ſurrender of his Crown; but he encouraging his Men with Liquor, they make a ſuddain Salley, which by the ſuddenneſs of it put the Guards of the Works raiſing againſt the Caſtle to flight, and all into Confuſion; till *Dion* taking the Alarm, comes to their Reſcue, beats down many of the Enemy till he, firſt wounded in the Hand, and after in his Body, fell to the Ground, but is reſcu'd and carry'd off by his Friends: And a detachment of the Foreign Soldiers being ſent to the Engagement, they beat the Tyrants Men back into the Caſtle. For this Victory the *Syracuſians* preſented *Dion* with a Crown of Gold, and all the Foreign Soldiers a Hundred *Grecian* Pounds,

*Dionyſius* try'd another Stratagem, and ſends Letters to *Dion* from the Ladies his Relations, and one ſuperſcrib'd with his Sons Hand, but wrote by *Dionyſius* himſelf; the reſt were read openly, but that from his Son the People would not have broke open, but that *Dion* himſelf oblig'd them to it. Its Contents were Threats to his neareſt Relations, and,

That

that he ſhould take the Government himſelf, not give it to thoſe who hated him.

*The People ſuſpect Dion.*

The People began to fear, that he lay under invincible obligations to be favourable to *Dionyſius*, ſo having thoughts of a new General, they were pleas'd at the Arrival of *Heraclides*. *Heraclides* was one that had been baniſh'd by *Dionyſius*, and having had a Diſpute with *Dion* in the *Peloponeſus*, he came by himſelf to make War on the Tyrant with ſeven Gallys, and three Ships; but finding him already beſieg'd in the Caſtle, and the People elated with their Succeſs, wheedled them ſo far, as that they choſe him Admiral; which when *Dion* reſented, they revok'd: But he having reprimanded *Heraclides* for his Conduct at ſuch a time, that a falſe Step might ruin all, call'd an Aſſembly, and recommended him to be Admiral.

For which Favour while he ſeem'd to thank *Dion* very heartily, he underhand calumniated him, and endeavour'd to render him ſuſpected to the People, and gave *Dion* a great deal of Trouble, for if he continued the Siege they cry'd out, that he protracted the War to keep his Commiſſion, and awe the People by his Authority; if he deſir'd them to give *Dionyſius* a Paſs, that he might leave the Caſtle, they cenſur'd him as deſigning to deliver and protect him.

Among the reſt, one *Soſis*, a profligate Villain, ſtood up one day in the Aſſembly, and railing at the Citizens for not ſeeing that they had only chang'd a diſſolute and drunken Tyrant for a ſevere and ſour Maſter, but that he was againſt *Dion* and Arbitrary Government, ſo left the Aſſembly. The next day having ſlightly wounded his Head in two or three places, he was ſeen to run along the Streets crying out, that *Dions* Soldiers had aſſaulted him; the Mob took his Part raliing at *Dion*, who coming to vindicate himſelf, he made it evident, that this *Soſis* had a Brother in the Guard of *Dionyſius*, who had no other way of gaining his End now, but by promoting Confuſion among them. It was likewiſe prov'd, that he wounded himſelf; ſo *Dion* was clear'd, and *Soſis* condemn'd to dye.

In the mean while *Philiſus* arrives from *Apulia* with a Fleet to the Aſſiſtance of *Dionyſius*, but he was beaten and himſelf taken and ſlain with Ignominy. He being dead, *Dionyſius* proffers to ſurrender the Citadel, on condition that he might paſs ſafely into *Italy*, and enjoy the *Segnory* of *Gyata*. *Dion* rejected theſe Propoſals, and refer'd him to treat with the People, who would not hear his Ambaſſadors; on which leaving his Elder Son *Apollocrates* to defend the Caſtle, and putting on board his deareſt Friends and richeſt Goods, taking

taking the Opportunity of a fair Wind, made his Escape without being discover'd by *Heraclides*.

To appease the People, and amuse their Resentment of this Neglect, he set *Hippon*, a popular Speaker, to propose an equal division of the Lands and Revenues of the Country; alledging, that Poverty and Slavery were inseparable Companions. *Heraclides* joins him against *Dion*, who vigorously oppos'd it; and farther persuades them not only to pass it into a Law, but to stop the foreign Soldiers Pay, choose new Officers, and put an end to *Dions* Commission. They afterwards come to an Election of twenty-five Commanders, *Heraclides* being one; and unable to corrupt *Dions* Soldiers from him, who plac'd him in the midst, and guarded him out of the Town, without offering any Violence to any, which encourag'd the People to fall on them; but when they made a stand, and shew'd as if they were going to fight them, the Mob and their Leaders all fled away. When *Dion* commanding his Men to face about, he led them to the City of the *Leontines*.

*The People fall on Dion's Soldiers, but are forc'd to flye from them.*

But in their March, the new Captains, to retrieve their Honour, pursue *Dion*, and coming up with him as he was passing a River, his Men soon put them to flight, reaching the City, with the loss of some of their Men. The *Leontines* receiv'd *Dion* and his Men with a great deal of Honour, rewarding and making them free of their City, sent to the *Syracusians* for the Soldiers Pay, and heard their Accusation of *Dion*, which he entirely refuted.

In the mean while *Nypsius* is sent with a Fleet by *Dionysius* with Provisions and Pay for the Garrison, but is fought, beat, and lost four of his Ships; which Success made them fall to Drinking, and neglect their Guard and Defence: This being obsetv'd by *Nypsius*, he storms their Works, and brings the City to the last Distress, putting Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword. In this misery finding they were unable to defend themselves, they send some to implore the Aid of *Dion* once more, who, tho' so much provok'd, resolv'd to come. But while he is on his March thither, the Enemy being again retir'd into the Castle, thinking all the danger over, and that they would not attempt any farther Salleys, they sent Messengers to stop *Dion* on his way, and guarded the Gates to hinder his entrance. But *Nypsius* made a more numerous Salley than before, and quite demolish'd the remaining part of the Works, and pillag'd the City, and set it on fire in several Places; and while the Citizens flye before the Enemy, they are burnt in the Fire, or kill'd by the falling of some House; so that all send for *Dion*, and *Heraclides* sent

ſent his Brother and his Uncle to entreat him. *Dion* letting his Men know their Condition, they all run full ſpeed to their Reſcue, and enter the City, marching with great danger along the Ruines; but yet he beat *Nypſius* and his Men, who ſoon fled into the Caſtle, leaving ſome dead behind them. All hands were then employ'd to quench the Fire. The next day all the popular Harangures fled the City, knowing their own guilt; only *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* his Brother ſurrender themſelves to *Dion*, and beg his Pardon in a moſt ſubmiſſive way; which *Dion* contrary to his Friends Advice generouſly gives him, and permits him ſtill to be Admiral, and carry on the Siege.

*Heraclides* not touch'd with *Dions* Generoſity, takes hold of *Dion*'s repealing the Levelling Act, to harangue the Soldiers and Seamen, and tells them, That *Dion* deſign'd to make himſelf abſolute; and yet he himſelf held a Correſpondence at the ſame time with *Dionyſius*; which when known at *Syracuſe* caus'd a Sedition in the Army, and that produc'd almoſt a Famine, all blaming *Dion*'s Eaſineſs, to ſuffer ſo turbulent a Villain as *Heraclides* to eſcape, when in his Power deſtroy him.

*Dion* drawing out the People, march'd againſt *Pharax*, with whom he delay'd the engaging till *Heraclides* had told his Seamen, That he delay'd fighting on purpoſe to prolong his Command. Being therefore forc'd to fight againſt his Inclination and Judgment, he was beaten, but brought off his Men with little loſs, and rally'd them again, with a Reſolution to redeem their Credit by a ſecond Engagement: But hearing that *Heraclides* had ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, in order to take poſſeſſion of the City, he with ſome light Horſe made ſuch ſpeed, that they were there by eight in the Morning. *Heraclides* again diſappointed, meets with *Gæſylus* a *Spartan*, and ſends word to the People, That he had with him a *Spartan* to be their General; but *Dion* told them, That he himſelf was a Citizen of *Sparta*. *Gæſylus* thus finding that he had loſt his Hopes of being General, he landed, and reconcil'd *Heraclides* to *Dion*. And the *Syracuſians* laid up their Fleet, and ſo preſs'd the Caſtle, that *Apollicrates*, ſeeing no proſpect of Relief, and their Proviſions failing, ſurrender'd the Caſtle, on Condition to be tranſported with his Mother and Siſters to *Dionyſius*.

*Dion* entering the Caſtle, was met by *Ariſtomache* and *Dion*'s Son, and *Arete* weeping behind, for whom *Ariſtomache* ſpoke, telling him with what regret ſhe ſubmitted to the Force the Tyrant us'd to make her marry another while he was alive. *Dion* receiv'd her again, and order'd her to retire

tire to his own House, where he design'd to reside when he had deliver'd up the Castle to the *Syracusians*. So he gratify'd and rewarded his Friends with a Liberality almost beyond his Ability, reserving no Advantage to himself, and living with great Moderation and Temperance.

*Heraclides* again sets up against him, accuses him for not demolishing the Castle, hindring the People from demolishing the Tomb of *Dionysius*, and abusing the Dead; that he had sent for Counsellors to *Corinth*, whence indeed some came to help him in the modelling the new-design'd Government, against which he knew *Heraclides* would be the most violent; his Friends breaking into his House, murder'd him. *Dion* made him a splendid Funeral, letting the People know, that the City would not be kept quiet as long as he liv'd.

*Calippus* an *Athenian*, who had always behav'd himself bravely, and was an intimate Friend of *Dions*, either brib'd by the Enemy or by his own ambitious Hopes of commanding all *Sicily*, enters into a Conspiracy against his Friend and Benefactor *Dion*; which could not be discover'd, because by *Dions* Consent he was permitted to rail at him, to find out the Minds of the People and Soldiers about him, which he constantly reported to him. *Dion* before this, saw a *Spectre*, and his Son broke his Neck from the Top of the House. But *Calippus* being charg'd with the Plot, denies it upon Oath in the Temple of *Proserpina*; yet soon after, on the Festival of that Goddess, he, with the rest of the Conspirators, beset his House, and getting in after some struggle, cut *Dions* Throat. But he was afterwards kill'd at *Regium* by *Leptimus* and *Polypercon*, with the same Sword with which he murder'd *Dion*.

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The

# The LIFE of *MARCUS BRUTUS.*

THO' some of the Party of *Cæsar* have said that *Brutus* was of the Family of a *Plebeian* of that Name, a Nobleman's Steward, and but late came into the Offices of the Commonwealth, yet most Writers agree, that *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who expell'd the Tarquins, was his Predecessor. His Mothers Name was *Servilia*, the Sister of *Cato*. To the Goodness of his Disposition he added the Improvements of Philosophy, and other Polite Letters, and had by the Nobleness of his Temper, and the help of his Learning, a perpetual Propensity to Goodness and Virtue; so far, that his Enemies own, that whatever was Honourable and Generous in that Conspiracy, was done by *Brutus*; and all that was cruel, by *Cassius*. He was always a *Platonist*, and ever express'd a great Value for, and a great Deference to *Antiochus* of *Ascalon*, and took his Brother *Antiston* into his House. Tho' inferiour to many Philosophers in Learning, yet equal to the best in Evenness of Temper, and Sweetness of Conversation.

*Always a Platonist.*

In his own Tongue he was an able Pleader, in the *Greek* Sententious and *Laconic*; especially in his Epistles, as thus to the *Pergamenians. I hear you have given* Dolabella *Money, if voluntarily, you own your Injury to me; if against your Will, you will convince me of the Truth of it by voluntarily supplying me.* And to the *Samians, You are careless in your Counsels, and slow in your Actions; What, do you think, will be the Event?*

In his Youth he did his Uncle *Cato* great Service in *Cyprus*, in his Diligence and Industry in disposing of all the Treasure and Riches of *Ptolomy* there, tho' he look'd upon the Commission as below him.

In the Civil Wars betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæsar* e'ery body expected that he would have follow'd *Cæsar*, *Pompey* having murder'd his Father; but judging the later to be the justest side, he enclin'd more naturally to *Pompey*; and finding no hopes of Action and Service in *Sicily*, where he was Lieutenant to *Sestius*, he came voluntarily into *Macedon*, to share Danger

in

in the Battel that was to decide the Fate of the Empire. *Writes a short Letter to Polybius.* *Pompey* receiv'd him with all the agreeable ſurprize in the World, and riſing from his Seat, pay'd him all the Reſpect he could. Here he ſpent all the time which was not employ'd in Conſultations of State with *Pompey*, in Study, and his *Epitome* of *Polybius*.

After the Rout and Flight of *Pompey*, he was not only receiv'd and pardon'd by *Cæſar*, but in particular Favour: Having before the Battel given order to his Men to preſerve his Life, which Care is attributed to his having had ſuch Familiarity with *Servilia*, as to ſuppoſe, that he might be his Son; this is the Reaſon, as it was thought, why he always had a greater Power over him, than any one elſe. It was his Intereſt which reconcil'd *Caſſius* to *Cæſar*; he preſerv'd by this to the King of *Lybia* great part of his Kingdom. When Right Reaſon and Honour were the Motive, he was impetuous in the Cauſe, and generally effected his Deſigns; he never was won by frontleſs Importunities, dreſt in ſlaviſh Flattery, eſteeming that below a Man.

*Cæſar* left him the Government of the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, when he went in his Expedition againſt *Cato* and *Scipio* in *Africa*, and by his eaſie Adminiſtration made amends for the Avarice and Oppreſſion of other Governours. *Caſſius* contending with *Brutus* for the *Prætorſhip* of *Rome*, *Cæſar* gave it to *Brutus*; which ended the Breach that before was began betwixt them, tho' *Caſſius* had marry'd *Junia* the Siſter of *Brutus*. As this was the Cauſe of a Breach betwixt theſe two Friends, ſo it was the Riſe of the Pique of *Caſſius* to *Cæſar*, tho' at the ſame time he gave him another *Prætorſhip*. However, *Caſſius* by his Friends endeavour'd to win him from the Friendſhip of *Cæſar*, who was a Tyrant, and gave him ſo much Power, not for his Merit, but to unbend his noble Spirit. *Cæſar* ſeem'd ſuſpicious of this, when he reply'd to thoſe who told him that, *Dolabella* and *Anthony* deſign'd ſome Innovations; *I fear not the fat and the long haird, but the pale and the meagre*; meaning *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. *Caſſius*, a Man of a fierce Diſpoſition, hated the Man out of a private Malice, but *Brutus* hated the Tyranny, not the Man: Tho' others ſay, that *Caſſius* had from his Youth an inbred hatred to Tyrants.

*Brutus* was won to the Undertaking by many Letters ſent to him, and the Perſuaſions of many Friends. Under the Statue of *Lucius Junius* was writ, *Oh! that thou* Brutus *were now alive!* He found many Papers in the Morning in his Tribunal where he heard Cauſes, with this Sentence, *Thou ſleepeſt* Brutus. *Thou art not* Brutus.

*Caſſius* finding all, whom he had try'd to engage, declare their willingneſs, provided that *Brutus* would lead them, made him a Viſit to reconcile himſelf to him; and that being perfected, and ſome Queſtions put, to try him when he had declar'd he would die for the Liberty of his Country, *Caſſius* reply'd, *But what* Roman *will ſuffer you to die? Know your ſelf* Brutus, *nor believe thoſe Inſcriptions you have ſeen are writ by the Vulgar, but by the beſt Men of* Rome *for Quality and Honour. The People from other* Prætors *expect Shows and Spectacles, but from* Brutus, *to be deliver'd of the Tyranny; all are ready to ſuffer any thing for and with you, if you will but ſhew that you are the Man they think and expect you.* Then embracing, they puſh'd to try their ſeveral Friends.

Caſſius *moves him to deſtroy the Tyranny.*

Tho' in the Day, and in Company, and Buſineſs, *Brutus* diſguis'd his Concern very well, yet in the Night, and at Home, the Thoughts of ſo many great Men, and the Fate of the Commonwealth depending upon him, gave him ſo great Pain, that he would often ſtart out of his Sleep, and gave ſo many other Indications of the weighty Matters that employ'd his Conſideration, that his Wife *Porcia* could not but perceive his Trouble unuſual, and believ'd that he had in agitation ſome dangerous Affairs; but would not enquire till ſhe had try'd her own Conſtancy by wounding her Thigh, and inform'd *Brutus* of the whole matter in ſuch Heroic Words and Manner, that he pray'd the Gods to favour his Enterprize, that he might be a Husband worthy ſuch Wife.

The Senate was to meet on the *Ides* of *March*, in a *Portico*, where ſtood the Statue of *Pompey*; and *Cæſar* being there expected, the Conſpirators reſoly'd then to put it in execution, ſince there they could meet without ſuſpicion all together. But *Calphurnia's* Dreams had like to have detain'd him, which gave them ſome Fear, and *Popilius* coming up to them, and aſſuring Succeſs to their Undertaking, renew'd it. *Brutus* in the mean while receiv'd News that *Porcia* was dead, her Concern indeed for him having made her faint away, but ſhe came a little after to herſelf. The ſame *Popilius*, after *Cæſar* was come, went up to him and talk'd a pretty while, *Cæſar* liſtening to him with Attention; this put them into a Conſternation, but *Brutus* ſoon diſcover'd by his Actions that he was petitioning, not informing, all was eaſie.

*Trebonius* drew *Anthony* aſide towards the Door. *Cæſar* being ſet, *Cimber* approach'd to intercede for his Brother that was baniſh'd; and the reſt coming about him as it were to ſecond his Petition, *Cimber* took hold of his Gown, and pull'd it from his Shoulder, and *Caſca* gave him his firſt but ſlight Wound behind him; being wounded by many, and

ſeeing

seeing *Brutus* with his Dagger making at him, he threw his Gown over his Head, and struggl'd no farther. He being slain, the Conspirators stabb'd so violently, that they wounded one-another, *Brutus* receiving a Wound in his Hand. Cæsar's *Death.*

It having been agreed, that no-body but *Cæsar* should bleed, *Brutus* address'd himself to speak to the Senators, but they all fled, tho' none pursu'd. But *Brutus* and his Party went up to the *Capitol*, shewing their Hands bloody, and their Swords drawn, proclaiming Liberty to the People. The City was at first in a Consternation, but finding no-body else kill'd, *Senators* and People took Courage, and went up to the *Capitol* to the Conspirators, and *Brutus* having made a Speech to them proper to the Occasion, they invited him down into the *Forum*, Men of the best Quality attending and conducting *Brutus* to the *Rostrum*. The awe of him kept the tumultuous People quiet, who heard him with Silence and Attention; but on *Cinna's* railing at *Cæsar*, they broke into a Rage, so that *Brutus* and the Conspirators retir'd again to the *Capitol*; till *Anthony*, *Cicero*, and *Plancus* the next day made Orations for an Oblivion of all that was past; which being decreed, the Conspirators were thank'd by the Senate, and rewarded by Provinces. *Brutus* had *Crete*, *Cassius Africa*, *Trebonius Asia*, *Cimber Bithynia*, and the other *Brutus*, *Gallia Padana*.

*Anthony* then propos'd an Honourable and Public Funeral for *Cæsar*, lest the People should be farther provok'd by a private one; *Cassius* only oppos'd it, but *Brutus* agreed that his Will should be read, and Honours paid to his Corps. *Anthony* making his Funeral Oration, found the People mightily affected with his Praise of *Cæsar*; he therefore caus'd his Will to be read, by which he gave to every *Roman* Citizen three hundred *Sesterces*, and his Public Gardens beyond *Tiber*, which still augmented their Sense of his Loss; but to raise their Compassion to the height, he shew'd them his Garment all rent with Stabs, and expos'd to their View all his Wounds. This put them into Confusion, and made them cry out to kill the Murtherers; they pull'd up the Benches, and erected a Funeral Pile, burnt his Body, and with the Brands went to set Fire to the Conspirators Houses, who in a Fright fled out of Town, and stopt not till they got to *Antium*, resolving to stay there till the Peoples Fury was over, hoping all from the Senate, which was favourable to them, who sought out to punish those who had assaulted the Houses of the Conspirators.

*Anthony* himself began to be suspected by the People, as aiming to set up a Monarchy for himself, and therefore now long'd for the Return of *Brutus*, who tho' expected in *Rome* to be present at the Shows he was to present to the People, yet would not venture for fear some of *Cæsar's* old Soldiers, who lay in wait for him; but he sent all manner of Wild Beasts, and a considerable number of Comedians, for their Entertainment.

*Octavius* now coming to Town, assum'd the Name of *Cæsar*, and to ingratiate himself with the People, paid the Legacies left by *Julius*. *Cicero* likewise join'd with him against *Anthony*, at which *Brutus* was very angry, as if he sought not Liberty, but a favourable Master; the Soldiers sold themselves as by Auction, to those who would give most. This being the state of Public Affairs, *Brutus* despairing of all good Events, resolving to leave *Italy*, went by Land to *Elea*, and thence sent *Porcia* back to *Rome* much against her Will, and to her extream Grief and Distraction.

From hence *Brutus* sail'd to *Athens*, where having received all imaginable Honours, he apply'd himself to *Philosophy*, as if he minded nothing else; yet he secretly all this while made Preparations for War, and employ'd his Endeavours for the getting an Army together, caressing and endearing himself to all the young *Roman* Gentlemen then Students in that City.

But now acting publickly, and understanding that his Friend *Antistius* was sailing from *Asia* to *Rome* with a Fleet charg'd with very considerable Sums of Money, *Brutus* met him about *Carystus*, and persuades him to give him 500000 *Sesterces*, and all the Remains of *Pompey*'s Army. After this he took from *Cinna* 500 Horse, which he was conducting to *Dolabella* in *Asia*. At *Demetrias* he seiz'd a great quantity of Arms; and then *Hortensius* the *Prætor* deliver'd up *Macedon* to him, and all the circumjacent Kings and Princes offer'd voluntarily to join him.

In his March to *Dyrrachium* he suffer'd such Hunger, that had not the Soldiers of the Enemy supply'd him, he must have dy'd, but taking the Town; for those Soldiers sake he spar'd the People and Town. *Caius Antonius* being prevented here, march'd to *Apollonia*, and finding the Soldiers there desert, he came to *Beutrhotus*, *Brutus* having cut off three Company's of his Men in his March, and he himself and Army routed by *Cicero* the Younger, to whom *Brutus* gave the Command of the Army on the Day of Battel, but *Antonius* afterwards driven into a marshy place, and surrounded by *Brutus*, was surrender'd to him by his Men, whose

Lives

Lives he had preſerv'd by not ſuffering them to be kill'd by his Horſe. *Antonius* abuſing the Indulgence of *Brutus*, by endeavouring to corrupt his Soldiers, was ſent Priſoner on board one of his Ships.

*Brutus* now receiving an Account from *Rome*, that *Cæſar* had got to great Power by his Oppoſition to *Anthony*, and had driven him out of *Italy* into *Gaul*; that growing on this formidable, he ſu'd for the Conſulſhip before he was of a legal Age; and by drawing his Army near the City, drove them into an Election of him at ſcarce twenty years old; and that he had order'd a Proceſs to be iſſu'd out againſt *Brutus* and the other Conſpirators. That after this, *Anthony*, *Lepidus*, and *Cæſar* had made a Triumvirate, had proſcrib'd and murder'd, among theſe, his Friend *Cicero*, on which he order'd *Caius Antonius* to be put to Death.

*Brutus* having got a conſiderable Army together, led them into *Aſia*, and rendezvouz'd a Fleet in *Bythinia* and *Cyzicum* to tranſport them, whilſt he went by Land to confirm the City and Princes in their Faith to his Cauſe. He ſent for *Caſſius* to come to him out of *Syria*, and join their Forces againſt the Enemies of Liberty, and to draw nearer *Italy*, to free their Friends and Fellow-Citizens from Oppreſſion. *Caſſius* obeying the Summons, they met at *Smyrna*, and there conſulted what was beſt to be done in a Conjuncture of that Importance and Difficulty, and then parted with a great deal of Satisfaction, *Caſſius* for *Syria*, and *Brutus* for *Macedon*; each having ſtrove to pay the greateſt Reſpect to one another. *Caſſius* was eſteem'd an expert Soldier, but Harſh, Choleric and Fierce, governing more by Fear than Love; yet in Converſation full of groſs Railery, and Buffoonry. *Brutus* on the contrary, was for his Virtue belov'd by the Beſt, and not hated even by his Enemies; his Nature being Mild, tho' his Spirit was High, he was inſenſible of Anger, Pleaſure, or Avarice; but always Zealous for what was Good and Honourable. *Caſſius* was look'd on to fight for Dominion, *Brutus* for Liberty, *Anthony* himſelf ſaying to many, *That* Brutus *was the only Man that conſpir'd againſt* Cæſar *for the Glory and Juſtice of the Action; all the reſt riſing againſt the* Man, *not the* Tyrant, *on their own private Envy and Malice.* *Caſſius*, before they parted, had given *Brutus* on his Requeſt the third part of the Treaſure he had amaſs'd together, contrary to the Perſuaſions of ſome of his Followers.

*Brutus* ſending to the *Lycians* for a ſupply of Men and Money, and *Naucrates*, a popular Speaker, having perſuaded the City to rebel, and fortify all the Hills and Avenues, *Brutus* fell upon them and kill'd 600 of them, he ſet all his Priſoners at Liberty; but they, not mov'd by his Clemency, continu'd obſtinate: When *Brutus* having forc'd the moſt Warlike of them into the City of *Xanthus*, beſieg'd them; and the City taking Fire by ſome of the Engines which the beſieg'd in a Salley had ſet on Fire, a ſort of Fury or Madneſs of Deſpair poſſeſs'd the People, ſo that inſtead of accepting of the help of the Roman Soldiers to the Quenching, it they with Torches ſet Fire to it in many places, throwing themſelves, both Men, Women, Children and Goods into the Flames, all periſhing together, as their Predeceſſours once before did in the *Perſian* War.

*The fall of the* Xanthians.

*Brutus* could not bear to ſee the lamentable Objects that this Deſpair and Conflagration had made, nor could he hear of them without Fears, and publiſh'd a Reward to any Soldier that could ſave a *Xanthian*; which ſav'd but 150, even againſt their own Wills.

*Brutus* finding the *Patarians* deſign'd to hold out againſt him, and fearing the ſame mad Deſpair, he ſet at Liberty ſeveral of their Women of the firſt Quality and Charms without Ranſom, and untouch'd; who giving ſo great a Character of the Continence, Temperance, and Sobriety of *Brutus*, prevail'd with their Fathers and Husbands to put their City into his Hands. Whoſe Example all the Cities round about follow'd, without farther Difficulty; and he ſhow'd them great Moderation in their Puniſhment, raiſing only 150 Talents among all the *Lycians*, whereas *Caſſius* in *Rodes* alone had rais'd 8000 Talents, and fined the City 500 more.

Paſſing hence into *Ionia*, among daily Acts of Juſtice in Rewards and Puniſhments, he put to Death *Theodotus* a mercenary Teacher of Rhetoric, who was one of thoſe that adviſ'd the Murther of *Pompey*, he being the laſt that remain'd unpuniſh'd.

*Puts* Theodotus *to Death.*

*Brutus* about this time ſummons *Caſſius* to meet him near *Sardis*, where both Armies being drawn up, ſaluted each of them by the Title of *Emperor*. But to remove all paſt Jealouſies, they reſolv'd to diſpute the Maſtery alone, when Words ariſing high, *Favonius*, an Imitator of *Cato*, forc'd in, and by ridiculous Sentence put an end to the Diſpute; but *Brutus* the next day puniſhing *Lucius Pella* for embezling the Public Money, *Caſſius* reſented it; but *Brutus* bid *him remember the* Ides *of* March, *that* Cæſar *fell not for the Ills he had done*

*done in his own Person, but for those which were done by his Agents and Creatures.*

About his leaving *Asia*, 'tis said, that as he was late considering of the Public-Affairs in his Tent, he saw a Gigantic Form enter and make silently up to him. *Brutus* boldly ask'd it, *What art thou*, Man *or* God? the *Spectre* answer'd, *I am thy Evil Genius*, Brutus; *thou shalt see me at* Philippi. *Brutus* undaunted, *Then will I see thee.* *Sees a Spectre.*

When rouzing his Servants, and finding that they had seen nothing, he went to rest. Marching after this into *Macedon*, against *Cæsar* and *Anthony*, he reduc'd all the Cities and Princes in his way to their *Obedience*, *Norbanes* narrowly escaping with his Army at the Streights of *Symbolon*. *Cæsar* being now recover'd of his Illness, was come up to the Army, and *Anthony* with incredible swift Marches had join'd him: *Brutus* and *Cassius* pitch'd their Tents not far from them, the interjacent Fields being call'd *Philippi*.

Here might be seen the *Roman* Forces, not much differing in number, tho' those under *Brutus* were less than those under *Cæsar*; but the Men under the former more richly clad and adorn'd, than those under the later; *Brutus* being of Opinion, that his Men would exert their Courage the more to preserve their fine Arms and Equipage, than they would without them.

Both Armies having made their *Lustrations*, *Brutus* was for coming immediately to a decisive Battel, which *Cassius* oppos'd, and was for protracting the War; but the plurality joining with *Brutus*, the Fight is resolv'd. *Brutus* behav'd himself at Supper very Chearfully, and full of Hope; but *Cassius* was thoughtful, and bid *Messala*, in *Greek*, bear Witness for him, *That like* Pompey the Great *he was forc'd to put the Fate of the Empire on one Battel, contrary to his Opinion.*

The Signal of Battel being hung out, which was a Scarlet Coat, *Brutus* and *Cassius* met betwixt the two Armies, and *Cassius* address'd himself to *Brutus* in this manner, *May this Day be fortunate to us, but since the most important, of Humane Affairs are extreamly subject to Chance, and, of all, those of War the most uncertain, tell me what you resolve if we should be worsted, Flight or Death?* Tho' *when I was Younger*, reply'd Brutus, *I blam'd* Cato *for not submitting to the Decrees of Fate, and thought it unlawful to put an End to ones Life; but now in the midst of Danger I am entirely of his Mind; for if Providence be against us in this Undertaking, I am resolv'd to make no farther Tryal, but will dye contented with my Fortune, for I sacrific'd my Life on the* Ides

*of* March *for the Good of my Country, and have ever ſince liv'd in Liberty and Honour.*

Upon this, *Caſſius* embracing him, ſaid, *With theſe Reſolutions let us ruſh on the Enemy, for either we ſhall Conquer, or have no need of fearing the Conqueror.* They then order'd the Battel; *Caſſius*, tho' the elder, yielded to *Brutus*, on his Requeſt, the right Wing, placing *Meſſala* with him and the choiceſt of his Troops. *Brutus* drawing out his Horſe, and bringing up his Foot in good order, ſent the Word of Battel to all the Officers, but the Men waited not for it, but with great Shouts ruſh'd on the Enemy, not expecting a ſet Battel; and *Cæſar* not being near, by reaſon of his Sickneſs, *Caſſius* was oppos'd to *Anthony*, who is ſaid to have hid himſelf in the Marſhes in the beginning of the Fight. *Brutus* on his ſide ſoon put *Cæſar*'s Men to flight, cutting off two thouſand *Lacedæmonians* new come in to *Cæſar*, and enter'd the Camp, where in the Confuſion they ſlew three Legions, ſo that *Brutus* was every where Victorious; but *Caſſius* in the left Wing was routed and purſu'd to his Camp, and he retir'd to a little Eminence, thinking *Brutus* had run the ſame Fate: But a Party of *Brutus*'s Horſe coming towards him, he imagin'd that they were of the Enemy in purſuit of him, he ſent out *Titinius* to find who they were, who being receiv'd with joy by them, *Caſſius* at a diſtance thought him taken Priſoner, and ſo made *Pindarus* kill him.

*The death of* Caſſius.

*Brutus* coming to the Camp then heard of his Death, and after a Lamentation over his Body, as of the laſt of the *Romans*, he ſent his Body to *Thaſſus*, that he might have an Honourable Funeral, and promis'd every one of his Soldiers 2000 *Drachma's* to ſupply what they had loſt. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* loſt about 8000 Men, *Cæſar* and *Anthony* near twice the number; but on the News of the Death of *Caſſius*, they were ſo far encourag'd as to offer Battel the next day, which *Brutus* thought fit to avoid, tho' he drew out into Array. But he found himſelf oblig'd to kill all the Slaves he had taken, and ſet all the Citizens at Liberty, telling them, *That with him they were Freemen and Citizens of* Rome, *with the Enemy Captives and Slaves*: Nay, he ſecretly convey'd away ſome, who had elſe fell a Sacrifice to the Rage of the Soldiers.

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In the mean while, *Cæsar* had Intelligence that the Fleet of *Brutus* had been Victorious at Sea, therefore he and *Anthony* agreed, that it was their best way to fall upon him before he could hear of this new Advantage. *Brutus* had before this giv'n his Men the promis'd Reward, and chid them for falling on without the Word of Command, and farther promis'd them the Plunder of *Thessalonica* and *Lacedæmon*, if they behav'd themselves bravely in the approaching Battel; which *Brutus* would have delay'd, had he but known of his Victory at Sea, of which he heard nothing till the Night before, from one *Claudius* a Deserter, who assur'd him, that *Cæsar* had lost his Fleet, and for that reason was in such haste for a Battel; but *Brutus* not giving credit to the Intelligence, resolv'd to engage the next Morning. The same Night (they say) the Vision in the same shape appear'd again to *Brutus*, but vanish'd without speaking.

The Army being now drawn out, *Brutus* paus'd a while, but finding some of his Men wavering, and *Camulatius* a valiant Soldier going over to the Enemy before his Face, he join'd Battel, tho' at three in the Afternoon, and was again victorious on his side; but the other side was soon beaten, and *Brutus* then surrounded by the Enemy; *Cato* the Son of *Cato Uticentis* was here kill'd, and all now in a Rout, many brave Men endeavour'd to save *Brutus*; his Friend *Lucilius* assum'd his Name, and stopt those that were in pursuit of him, by surrendring himself as *Brutus*, and desir'd to be carry'd to *Anthony*, who receiv'd him generously, and made him his Friend.

Lucilius taken for Brutus.

*Brutus* being separated from his Army, and hoping that not many of them were slain, *Statilius* proffer'd to go thro' the Enemy and see, and if there were all things safe, he would put out a Torch as a Signal. He got through and put up the Torch, but being slain in his Return, *Brutus* concluded the worst, and so having sollicited *Clitus* his Servant, *Dardanus* his Armour-bearer, and *Volumnius* in vain to kill him; they now saying it was time to flye farther since Day approach'd, he rose up and said, *We must indeed flie, not with our Feet, but our Hands.* Taking then each by his Hand, he spoke thus to them with a smiling Countenance.——— *That he was happy that his Friends had been faithful to him, and accus'd Fortune only for his Country's sake; thinking himself more Happy than the Conquerors, both in what was past, and his present Condition, leaving behind him such a Reputation of Honour and Virtue, as none of the Conquerors with their Power or Riches would be*

*able*

*able to do; no more than they could hinder Posterity from saying, that they had destroy'd the Good and Just without either of those Qualities, and usurp'd an Empire to which they had no Right.*

Exhorting them after this to provide for their own safety, he retir'd farther with two or three of his most intimate Friends, and there fell upon his Sword and dy'd immediately, tho' some say his Friend *Stonto* looking on one side, held the Sword, on which he ran himself with such force, that he needed no second Wound. *Anthony* finding his Body, wrapped it in a Purple Cloak, and had it sent to his Mother *Servila*.

*His death*

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# THE COMPARISON OF *Dion* and *Brutus*.

BOTH these Great Men came to their Greatness by inconsiderable Helps, but *Dion* had the Advantage in having no Sharer in his Glory, whereas *Brutus* divided his with *Cassius*, from whom all that was done against *Cæsar* had its Rise. *Dion* with his own Mony and proper Treasure rais'd an Army, Friends, and Associates, for the Destruction of Tyrants; *Brutus* rais'd it by Conquest over Nations: *Brutus* and *Cassius* flying from *Rome*, prosecuted by their Enemies and condemn'd to Death, seem'd under a Necessity of War, and so to fight more for their own Safety, than the Public Liberty.

*Dion* was safe, and liv'd more happily in Exile than the Tyrant in his Court, yet he put all to the risque to deliver *Sicily*. Tho', on the other hand, it was not so difficult a matter to destroy *Dionysius*, a profess'd Tyrant, and a long and violent Oppressour, as *Cæsar*, whose Government was mild, and yet under legal and specious Names.

*Brutus* was pursued by the People, for killing *Cæsar*; *Dion*, for letting *Dionysius* escape. *Dion* made no false steps in his Military Affairs, but corrected those made by others. *Brutus* was guilty of several, and at length losing the Victory, threw off all Hope, not trusting his Fortune, when he had still the Retreat of a Victorious Navy.

*Brutus* is accus'd of killing his Benefactor, who had sav'd his Life, and prefer'd him to all other Men. *Dion*, on the contrary, when in the Family of *Dionysius*, was faithful to him; but being driven from his Country, and wrong'd in his Wife and Estate, he came in open Hostility upon him: But 'tis plain, that as *Dion* had not fought had he not been injur'd, so both were chiefly set to work by their Hatred to Tyranny, and Love of the Liberty of their Country. *Brutus*

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gave plain Proofs of it, in forgetting his Father's Death in *Pompey*, and in riſing againſt *Cæſar*, who gave him all he could deſire, and againſt whom he had no manner of Pique, propoſing no other Standard of his Hatred or Friendſhip than the Publick Good: Whereas *Dion* ſuffer'd all in *Dionyſius*, till injur'd himſelf; which made ſome of his Friends imagin that he fought not ſo much for the Deſtruction of *Dionyſius*, as the ſetting up himſelf. But the very Enemies of *Brutus* own, that he had no other Motive of his Actions, but the Service of the Commonwealth.

*Dion* no ſooner appear'd in *Sicily*, but Thouſands ran in to him, againſt the Tyrant, who lay under a univerſal Hatred; but *Cæſar*, even dead, gave heart to his Friends, whoſe very Name was a Terrour to the *Parthians* and *Indians*, and made a Boy to Rival the Popularity of *Anthony*.

Tho' *Dion* was at great Trouble to come at *Dionyſius* ſo guarded, yet it was greater Policy in *Brutus*, to find out an Opportunity of attacking a Man naked, who had ſo many Legions for his Guard.

*Dion* found no Revenger of his Murther, but *Anthony*, the profeſs'd Enemy of *Brutus*, took care of his Funeral: Nor would *Cæſar* pull down his Statue at *Milan*, but prais'd the Citizens for honouring their Friend in his Misfortunes, and commanded 'em to keep the Statue ſtill ſtanding.

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# The LIFE of GALBA.

*Sulpitius Galba* was of the Family of the *Servii*, and valued himſelf on his Relation to *Catullus*. He was alſo a-kin to *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus*, by whoſe Intereſt he was prefer'd to the Conſulſhip. He afterwards diſcharg'd his Command in *Germany* with Honour, and in his Proconſulſhip of *Lybia* he gain'd an uncommon Reputation; but his poor and narrow Table, below the Dignity of a General, was no ſmall Reflection upon him.

*Nero* gave him the Government of *Spain*, where tho' he ſeem'd to pity the Oppreſſions of the People by *Nero*'s Officers, he yet ſuffer'd them, tho' under his Command, to go on with their Villanies: Yet, on the other ſide, he never forbid the ſinging of Lampoons againſt *Nero*, or puniſh'd them for it; which, with his eight Years government of them, gain'd him the Love of all the People. Nor did he give *Nero* any Information of the intended Inſurrection of *Junius Vindex* in *Gallia*, though he had Notice of it before it broke out.

*Vindex* at laſt throwing off all Diſguiſe, declar'd againſt *Nero*, ſending to *Galba* to take the Empire upon him, and to head One hundred thouſand *Gauls*, who were ready and willing to obey him. Communicating this Advice to his Friends, by their Approbation he proclaim'd a Day of Enfranchiſing thoſe who requir'd it, which brought a mighty concourſe of People together, who ſaluted him with one Voice *Emperor*, as he was ſtepping into his Chair; but refuſing the Title for that time, he inveigh'd againſt *Nero*, and deplor'd the Loſs of ſo many Brave Men, whom he had deſtroy'd, and call'd himſelf only the *Lieutenant* of the Senate and People of *Rome*. *Declar'd Emperor in Spain.*

*Nero*, who had ſlighted *Vindex*, hearing of *Galba*, in Rage overthrew the Table at which he was juſt ſate down to Dinner. The Senate now vote *Galba* an Enemy, and *Nero* ſells his Eſtate there by Auction, whilſt *Galba* did the ſame to his

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in *Spain*, where were found much-brisker Bidders, most People at this time revolting from *Nero*, and joyning *Galba*, except *Clodius Asper* in *Africa*, and *Virginius Rufus*, Commander of the *German* Legions in *Gaul*, who refus'd to take the Empire himself, or to declare for any body but whom the Senate should elect; and afterwards engaging *Vindex*, kill'd Twenty thousand of his Men, and he made away with himself. These Transactions in *France* gave *Galba* some Pain; and therefore he wrote to *Virginius* to joyn with him for the Preservation of the Empire and *Roman* Liberty: And so repenting what he had done, retires into *Colonia*, a City of *Spain*.

In the mean while he receives Couriers from *Rome*, with Advice, That *Nero* was slain, that the Senate had declar'd him Emperor, and that the Soldiers had taken their Oaths to him. *Galba* having rewarded all that brought him any part of this News, put on the Imperial Robes, and assum'd the Name of *Cæsar*, began his Journey: But *Nimphidius Sabinus* at once engross'd the sole Administration of Things at *Rome*; he inveigled the Army by Largesses, depos'd his Colleague *Tigellinus* from his Office, was fear'd and flatter'd by the Senate, and negotiated with the Officers of the Army, that *Galba* should be petition'd to make him sole Commander; nay, the Consuls were forc'd to ask his Pardon for sending the Expresses of the Senate's Decrees to the Emperor without his Knowledg, and by none of his Soldiers. He permitted the People to knock any of *Nero*'s Party in the head with Impunity, attributing to himself the whole Merit of the Fall of *Nero*. He never thought himself satisfied or fully rewarded, and therefore secretly practic'd for the whole Empire.

He dispatch'd *Gellianus* into *Spain*, to observe the posture of Affairs there: But all things succeeded well with *Galba* after *Nero*'s Death, except the Jealousie he had of *Virginius*, who standing stifly to this, That he would only declare for him the Senate chose, *Galba* yet fear'd he might hearken to those who perswaded him to assume the Empire himself, he having the best Troops, and in the vanquishing *Vindex*, subdued all *Gaul*. But having resisted all Entreaties for his own Advancement, he with much ado brought the Army to take the Oath to *Galba*, as soon as he had heard of the Senate's Decree.

Some of the Senators met *Galba* at *Narbone* in *Gaul*, and after the Compliments from their Body, they desir'd him to hasten his Journey to shew himself to the People, who impatiently expected him, whom he entertain'd courteously in his

his own Habit, refuſing to wear thoſe pompous Ornaments of *Nero*'s which *Nymphidius* had ſent him, till his Favourite *Junius* had perſwaded him to make uſe of 'em, as more agreeable to his Majeſty and Splendor: Which made it appear, that the old Emperor had put himſelf under the Diſpoſal of *Junius*, one that at once was extreamly avaritious and laſcivious.

*Nymphidius* hearing by his Agent *Gellianus*, now return'd from *Spain*, that *Corn. Lacon* was Captain of the Guards, and *Junius* chief Favourite, he ſummon'd together the Officers of the Army, and exclaiming againſt his Old-age, and the Power of *Junius* and *Lacon*, by Prayers and Money he endeavour'd to corrupt every body that could aſſiſt him in the obtaining of the Empire. And at laſt it was reſolv'd to bring *Nymphidius* into the Camp, and there to declare him Emperor. But *Antonius Honoratus*, firſt Military Tribune, ſummoning his Men together, and accuſing their changeable Temper, and exhorting them to ſtand by *Galba* and revenge *Nero*'s Death on *Nymphidius*, this confirm'd all the Soldiers, and made them with one Shout declare for *Galba*; but *Nymphidius* hearing the noiſe ran with ſpeed to the Camp, either thinking himſelf call'd, or elſe to quell the Tumult; but coming in, he was ſoon kill'd by the Darts of the Soldiers. On the News of this, *Galba* commanded all his Confederates that had eſcap'd, to run the ſame Fate. *The Death of* Nymphidius.

*Galba* now being within three Miles of the City, a diſorderly Rabble of Seamen beſet his Coach, crowding to have their Commiſſions renew'd, that he could not Salute thoſe who came to meet him; but the Seamens Inſolence encreaſing on *Galba*'s putting them off, he commanded his Horſe to ride over them, which put them to the Rout, many of them being ſlain in the Place. When he retrench'd *Nero*'s Profuſeneſs in Gifts, he ran into the contrary Extream of not reaching ev'n to Decency; thus he gave a Muſician but ten *Denarii* for entertaining him all Supper-time, telling him, that it was out of his own private Pocket, not out of the Public. He remanded all the Salaries of Players, Wreſtlers, and Fencers, given by *Nero*, except the tenth part; which render'd *Galba* little, and *Junius* hated, making Advantage of all the Places and Things about him, and yet never ſatisfy'd; for believing his Time ſhort, *Galba* being old and decaying, he reſolv'd to make the beſt uſe of it. Thus when the People declar'd their Satisfaction in the Execution of the wicked Adherents of *Nero*, *Junius* was brib'd,

who

to save *Tigellinus*, the Tutor and Manager of *Nero*'s Tyranny, contrary to all the Clamours of the People.

These and other Male-administrations of this avaritious Favourite first dissatisfy'd the People; and the Soldiers began at last to murmur, that they had not only not what they were promis'd, but the Donations which *Nero* gave them; which when *Galba* heard, greatly and like a General he declar'd, That he us'd to choose, not buy, his Soldiers. This gave them a Heart-burning, which work'd at last into Action, tho' stifled at present.

*The* German *Army Revolts.*

The Army that had vanquish'd *Vindex* receiving no considerable Advantage by it, they grew unmanagable by their Leader, who now was *Flaccus*, a Man disabled by the Gout, and without Experience in Military Discipline. *Galba* suspecting his Old-age and want of Children, depriv'd him of that Respect due to him, and made him cheap in their Eyes; he design'd to adopt some Young-man of Quality, and declare him his Successour. He had some Thoughts of *Otho*, a Man of a noble Family, but from his Childhood extreamly scandalous for Lewdness. His Amours with *Poppea* provoking *Nero*, who was prevail'd with by *Seneca* to spare his Life and send him *Propraetor* into *Lusitania*; so that his Neighbourhood to *Galba* on his Revolt from *Nero*, made him the first Goverhour of any Province that came in; and *Junius* introduc'd *Otho* to *Galba*, on a Consultation about a Successour, but had made him promise to marry his Daughter if he were adopted.

*Galba* could not be influenc'd by *Junius* in thus resolving to consult only the Public Good; but the Army desir'd none but *Otho*. And the Army in *Germany* plainly discovering their discontent, being to take their annual Oath to *Galba*, they threw down his Statues and defac'd them, and swearing only in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome*, departed. Soon after they declar'd *Vitellius* Emperor, and took their Oaths to him. This made *Galba* immediately adopt *Piso*; tho' his Friends were more inclin'd to *Dolabella* and *Otho*, neither of whom he could approve; but going into the Camp with him, *Galba* declar'd *Piso* his Successour. But the Storms of Thunder and Rain, and the ill Looks of the Soldiers, finding none of the usual Distributions on such occasions, shew'd that neither Heaven nor the Soldiers much approv'd the Adoption.

*Otho* thus disappointed, when he was just in the possession of the desir'd Honour, made him dread *Piso*, hate *Galba*, and be full of Indignation against *Junius*. But his Caldean Fortune-Tellers would not let him lay aside his Hopes of Empire, it having in *Nero*'s Time been foretold him, That *Nero* should not kill him, but dye before him, and that he should succeed him; part having prov'd true, he could not but as well expect as desire the last. So many of the Friends and Creatures of *Nymphidius* and *Tigillinus* pity'd and resented the Ingratitude of *Galba*. *Otho* therefore by his Agents, in less than four days after the Adoption, had so corrupted the Soldiers, that they were ready to revolt; when *Otho* attended *Galba* at the Sacrifice, *Umbricius* the Priest inspecting the Entrails, plainly told of following Troubles and Snares laid for the Emperor's Life. This so disturb'd *Otho*, that his Countenance chang'd, and had discover'd his Guilt, had not *Onomastus* told him, That one of the Master-Builders waited for him at home; under which pretence he left the Sacrifice; and going to the Golden-Pillar, he was met by not above twenty-five, and saluted Emperor; but others joining, they carry'd him to the Camp, where he was receiv'd and declar'd Emperor by them all. Otho's *Conspiracy against* Galba.

This News came to *Galba* as he yet attended the Sacrifice, on which *Piso* retreated to the Guards, and *Galba* by the persuasion of *Lacon* resolv'd to venture out; when one *Julius Atticus* arriv'd with his Sword all bloody, and pretending to have kill'd *Otho*, *Galba* then ventur'd out in a Chair, to sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and show himself. But in the *Forum* the News met them, that *Otho* was receiv'd into the Camp, of which he was now Master; and while it was debated whether he should go forward or retreat, Horse and Foot arriving, cry'd, Down with the private Man. And as soon as *Attilius Sarcelio* overthrew *Galba*'s Statue, they began to throw Darts at his Chair; and coming afterwards near the Lake of *Curtius*, he was kill'd by *Fabius Fabulus*, who carry'd away his Head in the skirt of his Garment, it having no Hair on to hold it by; so that by the Importunity of his Comrades he at last fixt it on a Spear, and show'd it as he went. But bringing it to *Otho*, he said, *Fellow-Soldiers this is nothing without* Piso's; which therefore they presented him not long after. *Junius* and *Lacon* were dispatch'd. The Senate being call'd, and having taken the Oath to *Otho*, and he saluted by the Titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*; the Body of *Galba* was by *Otho*'s permission convey'd away in the Night, and bury'd by *Argius* his Freedman. Galba's *Death*.

# The LIFE of *OTHO.*

EARLY in the Morning the new Emperor went up to the *Capitol*, and Sacrific'd; and coming to the Senate he, made ſome popular Harangues, and confirm'd all in their Places who *Nero* or *Galba* had prefer'd; he alſo gave the Conſulſhip to *Virginius Rufus*, tho' it was his own Turn. The more grave and ancient he made Prieſts, reſtoring the remainder of their Fortune to thoſe whom *Nero* had baniſh'd, but were recall'd by *Galba*. This gave the great Men hopes of Wonders, who apprehended before, that ſome Harpye or Devil had ſeiz'd the Government.

His Puniſhment of *Tigellinus* was extreamly grateful to the People, it being what the whole City requir'd. But *Tigellinus* being ſtopt juſt as he was making his Eſcape in the Coaſt near *Sinoeſta*, and not able to bribe the Meſſengers that were ſent for him, obtaining leave to ſhave himſelf, he cut his own Throat.

Tigellinus *cuts his own Throat.*

To pleaſe the People, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be call'd *Nero*, which Name he affix'd to *Otho* in ſome *Spaniſh* Diſpatches; but he omitted it when he found it offenſive to the Nobility. The Soldiers were ſo fond of him, that when *Criſpinus* was putting up ſeveral Waggon-Loads of Arms in the Night, tho' on the Emperors Service, they ſeiz'd the Arms and ſlew *Criſpinus*, crying out, That he was diſaffected to *Cæſar*, and that thoſe Arms were to be employ'd by the *Senate* againſt, and not for him; for they would needs have *Otho* ſuſpect the Nobility, and curb them. Alarm'd with this imaginary Deſign againſt *Otho*, with Swords in hand they march to the City, and hearing that 80 Senators were at Supper with him, they ſwore this was a fair Opportunity of taking off all his Enemies at once. Both the Senators and *Otho* being ſurpriz'd, he commanded the chief Officers to compoſe the Tumult while he diſmiſs'd his Gueſts privately, and yet by all his Entrea-

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ty could ſcarce protect them from the Fury of the Soldiers.

The next day he went to the Camp, and diſtributing 1550 *Denarii* a Man among them, he commended their Loyalty and Zeal for his Service, which he exhorted them to perſevere in; and ſo only by conſent of the Soldiers having two notorious Villains executed, he return'd to the City full of Acclamations and Applauſe.

Now came the News of the Revolt of *Vitellius*, and of his aſſuming the Imperial Dignity and Title; that many were gone over to him, but that the *Pannonian*, *Dalmatian*, and *Myſian* Legions ſtood firm to *Otho*.

*Mutian* and *Veſpaſian*, at the Head of two powerful Armies in *Syria* and *Judea*, ſends him their Aſſurance of Fidelity, which made him write to *Vitellius* not to ſtir out of his Province, offering him Money, and a City to end his Life in Happineſs and Eaſe. But *Vitellius* at laſt rediculing him and his Offers, and he returning the Abuſe, News came, that *Cæcinna* and *Valens*, two *Vitellian* Commanders, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Alps*; *Cæſar* having ſent *Dolabella* to *Aquinum* with Aſſurance of his good Intentions, took with him ſeveral Magiſtrates to the War, as *Lucius* the Brother of *Vitellius*, without ſhowing him any Marks of new-Favour or ill-Will: he likewiſe ſhew'd a Regard to the Mother and Wife of *Vitellius*, and made *Flaccus Sabinus* Governour of *Rome*, either in honour of *Nero*, who firſt advanc'd him, or to ſhew his Confidence in *Veſpaſian*, by his Favour to his Brother.

He himſelf halted at *Brixillum* on the *Po*, but order'd his Army to march on under *Marius Celſus*, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Gallus*, and *Spurina*, able and experienc'd Commanders, but that could not retain the Soldiers in their Duty or make them obey their Orders. But the *Vitellian* Soldiers beſieging *Placentia*, and reproaching theſe Soldiers as Players, Dancers, and idle Spectators of Games, but not knowing in War, and that while they could triumph in the beheading of the old, infirm, and naked *Galba*, they durſt not look their Enemies bravely in their Face. Provok'd by this Language, they gave the *Vitellians* ſuch a Repulſe in the next attack, that they rais'd the Siege, and left them in Poſſeſſion of one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities of *Italy*.

After this, *Cæcinna* having poſted a ſtrong party of Foot in ſome Defiles, and order'd them to draw the *Othonians* into an Ambuſcade, ſome Deſerters diſcovering the Deſign to *Celſus*, he fell upon them with the Horſe, ſo cautiouſly as to diſperſe the Ambuſcade; and if the Legion detached from the Camp had come up ſoon enough, *Cæcinna*'s whole Army might have been totally routed; but *Paulinus* moving too ſlowly, and with too much caution, was accus'd to the Emperor of Treachery in loſing a compleat Victory.

*Otho* about this time came to *Bebriacum* near *Cremona*, and calling a Council of War, where thoſe who declar'd for a Battel prevail'd, *Otho* fearing a Union betwixt the two Armies on delay, or that his Men would not be kept under Diſcipline, he himſelf return'd to *Brixillum*, imprudently weakening his Forces by the beſt Horſe and Foot that were detach'd of his Guards. There were Skirmiſhes betwixt Parties of *Otho*'s and *Cecinna*'s Army, eſpecially about a Bridge; when freſh Orders coming for a Battel, the Armies engag'd, but *Otho*'s Men, deceiv'd by expecting the Enemies Men to come over to them, made the Onſet faintly, and fighting on unequal Ground, their Trenches were broke, and they fought in Parties, except a Legion of *Cecinna*'s, and a Legion of *Otho*'s, who fought it bravely. The Gladiators made a tolerable defence againſt the *Belgians*, but the *Prætorian* Chohorts ran away on the firſt Onſet, and put their own People into diſorder. So that the Army on the Rout made into the City with *Annius Gallus*, who would have rally'd them; but *Marius Celſus* call'd a Council of War and propos'd an Accommodation, and that *Otho* having ſpilt ſo much *Roman* Blood in vain, ought to deſiſt. The Officers firſt, and then the Soldiers agreed, and all took the Oath to *Vitellius*.

The News at laſt coming to *Otho*, his Friends could ſcarce ſupport him under the ſame; but the Fidelity of ſome of his Soldiers about him is miraculous; they would make no Terms with the Conqueror, nor leave the Conquer'd, but attended his Levée, and receiv'd him with all the Acclamations as if he had triumph'd. A private Soldier came to him, and drawing his Sword, addreſs'd himſelf to *Otho* in this manner, *By this* Cæſar *judge our Fidelity, for there's not a Man among us but would ſtrike thus to ſerve thee*; and ſo ſtabb'd himſelf. Yet all this could not move him, but with a ſerene Countenance he thus addreſs'd himſelf to them:

*This Day, my Fellow-Soldiers, I look on as more Happy and Glorious, in the Proofs of your Fidelity and Love to me, than that on which you hail'd me Emperor; deny me not therefore the Satisfaction of laying down my Life to preſerve ſo many brave Men; let me in this at leaſt be worthy the Empire, to dye for it. I do not think the Enemy has gain'd an entire or a deciſive Victory; I hear of the Approach of* Myſian, Aſian, Syrian *and* Ægyptian *Armies; the Senate is in our Power, as well as the Wives and Children of our Enemies. But alas! 'tis not with* Hannibal *or the* Cimbri *we fight, but* Eagle *againſt* Eagle, Rome *againſt* Rome, *and* Italy *bleeds both in the Victors and Vanquiſh'd. Believe me therefore, I think it not ſo glorious to Reign, as to dye for my Country, nor do I ſee how* Rome *can gain ſo much by my Victory as Death, ſince that only can fix Peace, and ſecure* Italy *from another Day like this.*

Nothing could diſſwade him from his Reſolution of taking Leave of his Friends and the Senators that were with him; he ſent Paſports to thoſe who were abſent, that they might not be ſtopt; and his Brother's Son *Coccieus* he bid fear nothing from *Vitellius*, whoſe Relations he had us'd with ſo much Tenderneſs, and charg'd him to remember his laſt Words, "That he ſhould not too negligently "forget, nor too zealouſly remember, that *Cæſar* was his "Uncle.

The Soldiers threatning the Senators, for offering to leave the Emperor, out of reſpect to their Safety he appear'd again; but with Authority and Sternneſs in his Face, he commanded thoſe who were unruly immediately to leave the place.

About the Evening, having quench'd his Thirſt with Water, he took two Daggers, laying one down, and hiding the other in his Sleeve, ſo calling his Servants, he diſtributed Money amongſt 'em in proportion to their Merits and Services; after which retiring to Bed, he ſlept very heartily moſt part of the Night; in the Morning being inform'd that the Senators were ſafe, *Go then* (ſaid he) *and ſhew your ſelves to the Soldiers, leſt they cut you to pieces, as Acceſſories to my Death.* As ſoon as they were gone, *Otho* with both his Hands ſtriking in the Dagger, fell down and expir'd with but one Groan.

They

They all bemoan'd the Emperor, and accuſing themſelves for neglecting that Life which was laid down to preſerve them, they made a Funeral Pile, magnificently attiring the Imperial Reliques: Some kneel'd and kiſs'd the Wound, others graſp'd his Hands, and ſome at a diſtance gave him Divine Honours; ſeveral, after the Pile was lighted, ſacrific'd themſelves, all in general expreſſing the Violence of their Love for their Dead Emperor, as they did afterwards their Hatred to the Living. He died in the Thirty-ſeventh Year of his Age, and at *Brixillum* had a plain Monument, with only this Epitaph:

*To the Memory of* MARCUS OTHO.

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# *FINIS.*